A Kaleidoscope of Knowledge: Representations of China in British Children's Fiction, 1851-1911

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I certify that this thesis is entirely my own work, except where I have given fully documented references to the work of others.

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8 October 2009

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Abstract

This project is concerned with how children's fiction published from the 1850s to the early-twentieth century disseminated and popularized 'knowledge' of China through various discourses about 'the Chinese'. Previous criticism of the representation of China in Victorian and Edwardian children's literature has generally argued that children growing up during this period were reading material that, according to Kathryn Castle, secured 'the youth into the imperial ethos' through 'both positive identification with Britishness and a distancing from the undesirable "other"'.[1] This thesis challenges this view, utilizing, for example, Mitzi Myers's framework for a 'New Historicism of Children's Literature' and an intensive close reading of these texts to reveal contradictions and ambivalences. I argue that the plurality of viewpoints about China and the Chinese that are present in these stories should not be dismissed as insignificant exceptions and contend that we should examine representations of the Chinese during this period from a different vantage point, thereby revising previous assumptions about the monolithic representation of 'the Chinese' in children's literature of this period

The thesis considers a range of different genres and types of publication — travelogue storybooks, historical novels, adventures stories, and periodicals — as examples of the diversity of images of China and a broad spectrum of views on the Chinese. I use them to discuss how children's writers mediated a complex textual discourse on China for young readers, to illustrate the complexity evident in children's texts, and to demonstrate how they underscored the historically complex relationships between Britain and China. By examining how the genre of children's literature not only transmitted existing information about the Chinese but created knowledge about China, I seek to provide a new context for understanding how China was constructed in the Victorian and Edwardian imagination, shedding new light on British cultural history and the history of children's literature.

Chapter One traces the history of British relations with China from the eighteenth century to the twentieth century and comments on the extent of knowledge of China available to the British public in the nineteenth century. In addition, I provide an overview of the development of children's literature, focusing on publishing trends from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, as well as methods and modes of distribution. Chapter Two discusses the works of two writers who published travelogue stories in the 1850s, Anne Bowman and William Dalton. Bowman was known for her boy's adventure stories, and I first

[1] Kathryn Castle, *Britannia's Children: Reading Colonialism through Children's Books and Magazines* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 8.

consider the two which mention China: *The Boy Voyagers* (1859), in which Bowman's characters travel to places such as India, Japan and China, and *The Adventures of Rolando* (1853). I then focus on Dalton's *The Wolf Boy of China* (1857) and its sequel *The Wasps of the Ocean* (1864), situating Bowman and Dalton's travelogue adventure stories in the context of the mid-Victorian 'spirit of encyclopaedism', the emergence of 'racial science', and the 'opening' of China. In addition to examining how the representation of China and the Chinese in these novels was influenced by these contemporary trends, this chapter comments on race relations and attitudes to miscegenation and mixed-race children.

Chapter Three focuses on E. Harcourt Burrage's Ching-Ching stories, which were first serialized in *The Boy's Standard* (1875-92), and later featured in their own magazine called *Ching Ching's Own* (1888-93). Ching-Ching is possibly the only Chinese main character in children's fiction of the period. In addition to examining the possible reasons for Ching-Ching's popularity in terms of readership and marketing techniques, this chapter traces Ching-Ching's transformation from a trickster figure to that of detective and discusses the implications of this representation. Chapter Four examines fictionalized accounts of the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64). The key text is Bessie Marchant's *Among Hostile Hordes* (1901), which is discussed in comparison with Samuel Mossman's *The Mandarin's Daughter* (1875) and other magazine stories that feature the Taiping Rebellion. Although ostensibly about the Taiping Rebellion, I argue that *Among Hostile Hordes* is essentially a Boxer narrative. Chapter Five focuses on stories about the Boxer Uprising (1899-1901), especially G. A. Henty's *With the Allies to Pekin* (1903) and Charles Gilson's *The Lost Column* (1909). I illustrate how Boxer narratives published between 1900 and 1909 provided different interpretations of the same event and argue that the Boxer Uprising was a pivotal conflict from which negative images of the Chinese and fears of the yellow peril emanated.

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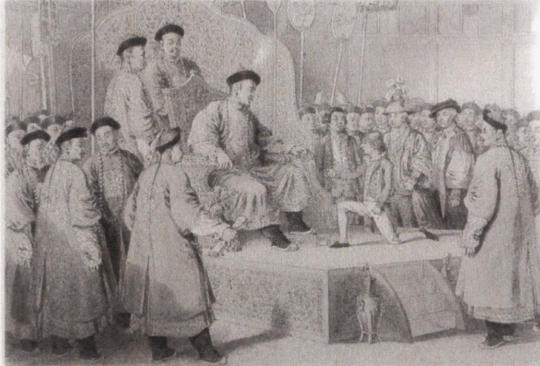
Note on Chinese Romanization

There are several systems of Chinese romanization, the earliest attributed to Matteo Ricci, the Italian Jesuit who travelled to China in 1583. Nicolas Trigault, a French missionary, later modified Ricci's system of representing Chinese in Roman script. In the nineteenth century, Sir Thomas F. Wade, minister-plenipotentiary to Peking, developed a system of transliteration based on British missionary Robert Morrison's work, which was then modified by Herbert A. Giles, who served in the British consular service. The Wade-Giles system, as it became known, was widely used until 1979, when Hanyu Pinyin, which was developed in the People's Republic of China in the 1950s, became the standard for Chinese romanization according to the International Organization for Standardization. I use the Pinyin system for Chinese romanization in this thesis. For citations from sources where alternative systems of transcription are used, all Chinese names and terms, with the exception of Peking (Beijing) and Canton (Guangzhou) which are familiar historical place names, are given in their original form with Pinyin equivalent in square brackets where possible. For titles of books and articles, the original romanization will be retained.

Chapter One

Introduction: Children, Knowledge, and China in Victorian Britain



My papa and I went up and made the proper ceremony. The Emperor gave my papa a *ruyi*, [a ritual gift]… and took off a little yellow purse hanging by his side and gave it to me. He wanted me to say a few words in Chinese, which I did, to thank him for the present.
–from the diary of George Thomas Staunton (twelve years old)[1]

Figure 1: William Alexander's rendering of Staunton's meeting with the Qianlong Emperor based on verbal accounts[2]

The illustration above, by English artist William Alexander, a member of Lord Macartney's Embassy to China (1792-94), depicts twelve-year-old George Thomas Staunton (1781-1859), page of the Ambassador, receiving a silk purse from the Qianlong Emperor. The boy had been brought before him when the Emperor asked if anyone in the group could speak Chinese.[3] In fact, young George was the only member of the Embassy who had proficiency in the language, having learned it from two Chinese missionaries who were returning to China from Naples, where he and his father Sir George Leonard Staunton had travelled in order to hire some

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[1] George Thomas Staunton, 'Staunton Diary 1792-1793: Journey to China, 1792-1793', China: Trade, Politics & Culture, 1793-1980, 2007; <http://www.china.amdigital.co.uk/collections/doc-search-results.aspx?documentid=188041&searchmode=true&previous=0> [accessed 19 August 2009].

[2] Illustration from Pamela Kyle Crossley, *The Manchus* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2002), p. 144.

[3] George Thomas Staunton, *Memoirs of the Chief Incidents of the Public Life of Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart* (London: Booth, 1856), p. 12. Regarding his meeting with the Emperor, Staunton quotes his father's recollection of the incident: 'His Imperial Majesty inquired whether any person of the Embassy understood the Chinese language; and being informed that the Ambassador's page, a boy then in his thirteenth year, had alone make some proficiency in it, the Emperor had the curiosity to have the youth brought up to the throne, and desired him to speak Chinese. Either what he said, or his modest countenance or manner, was so pleasing to his Imperial Majesty, that he took from his girdle a purse hanging from it, for holding areca nut, and presented it to him' (12). He also includes Aeneas Anderson's description of the event: 'His Imperial Majesty was pleased to take of Master Staunton, the son of Sir George Staunton. He appeared to be very much struck with the boy's vivacity and deportment, and expressed his admiration of the faculty which the young gentleman possessed of speaking six different languages' (13).

interpreters for the Embassy.[4] Some of Lord Macartney's objectives for going to China include trying the negotiation of a reduction of export-import duties, gaining additional trade ports, enticing China to import more British products, and acquiring more information about the 'Celestial Kingdom'.[5] As Pamela Kyle Crossley has said of young George Staunton's role in the Embassy, 'It is hard to believe that the success of such a grand undertaking by the world's most ambitious empire rested almost entirely on the shoulders of a well-behaved, home-sick boy, and almost as difficult to imagine the pressures upon the child as the complex and rigid ritual demands of the two empires came closer and closer to collision'.[6] Young George's meeting with the Emperor is a significant historical moment not only because it was a notable point in the first Embassy to China but more importantly, it suggests that children had the potential to play an important role in Sino-British relations and diplomacy.[7]

Although Macartney's Embassy was regarded as a diplomatic failure, it did

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[4] Sir George Leonard Staunton (1737-1801) was Lord Macartney's principal secretary. For more information on Staunton, see T. H. Barrett, *Singular Listlessness: A Short History of Chinese Books and British Scholars* (Chippenham: Wellsweep, 1989), pp. 55-57; Richard Davenport-Hines, 'Staunton, Sir George Thomas, Second Baronet (1781-1859)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26325> [accessed 2 April 2007].

[5] David E. Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500-1800* (Lanham, MD.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), p. 96. According to Joe Sample, the embassy had six objectives: 'acquire one or two places near the tea-and silk-producing and woollen-consuming ares, where their traders might reside and British jurisdiction be exercised; negotiate a commercial treaty with a view to extending trade throughout China if possible; relieve existing abuses in the trade practices at Canton; create a desire in China for British products; arrange diplomatic representation at Peking; and open Japan, Chochin China and the Eastern Islands to British commerce': Joe Sample, '"The First Appearance of this Celebrated Capital": or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Chinaman', in *Asian Crossings: Travel Writing on China, Japan and Southeast Asia*, ed. by Steve Clark and Paul Smethurst (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008), pp. 31-46 (p. 34). For more information on the Embassy, see James Louis Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995).

[6] Crossley, *The Manchus*, p. 147.

[7] The younger Staunton later became chief interpreter in the East India Company's factory at Canton and was promoted to chief of the Canton factory in 1816. He was also was appointed to accompany Lord Amherst's 1816 embassy to Peking, which was also a failure politically but produced another work with information on China: Sir Henry Ellis, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Late Embassy to China, Comprising a Correct Narrative of the Public Transactions of the Embassy, of the Voyage to and from China, and of the Journey from the Mouth of the Peiho to the Return to Canton, Interspersed with Observations upon the Face of the Country, the Polity, Moral Character and Manners of the Chinese Nation* (London: Murray, 1817).

succeed in collecting much information about China, which was presented to the British public in a number of government reports widely circulated after the Embassy's return from China, such as Aeneas Anderson's *Narrative of Lord Macartney's Embassy to China* (1795), George Staunton's *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China* (1797), and John Barrow's *Some Account of the Public Life, and a Selection from the Unpublished Writings of the Earl of Macartney* (1806).[8] Books by all three authors appeared in a list called 'Works upon China' that was published in August 1849 in the *Chinese Repository* (1832-51), a monthly periodical started by E. C. Bridgman (1801-1861), the first American missionary to China.[9] Comprising over 370 English and French texts, this list serves as an indicator of how books on China proliferated during the nineteenth century as British contact with the 'Celestial Kingdom' increased, particularly in the wake of the First Opium War (1839-42), when Hong Kong became a colony of Britain and five treaty ports were opened to foreign residence and trade. Who was reading these books and what did they do with the

[8] Aeneas Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy to China, in the Years 1792, 1793, and 1794: Containing the Various Circumstances of the Embassy, with Accounts of Customs and Manners of the Chinese; and a Description of the Country, Towns, Cities, Etc.* (London: Debrett, 1795); George Leonard Staunton, *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China: Including Cursory Observations Made, and Information Obtained, in Travelling through That Ancient Empire, and a Small Part of Chinese Tartary; Together with a Relation of the Voyage Undertaken on the Occasion by H.M.S. Lion and the Ship Hindostan, in the East India Company's Service, to the Yellow Sea, and Gulf of Pekin, as Well as of Their Return to Europe*, 3 vols (London: Bulmer, 1797); Sir John Barrow, *Travels in China: Containing Descriptions, Observations, and Comparisons, Made and Collected in the Course of a Short Residence at the Imperial Palace of Yuen-Min-Yuen, and on a Subsequent Journey through the Country from Pekin to Canton*, 2nd edn (London: Cadell and Davies, 1806). Sir John Barrow (1764-1848) was comptroller of household to the embassy. Barrow's own reflections of the trip were recorded in *Travels in China*, which was translated into French and German.

[9] 'List of Works upon China', *Chinese Repository*, XVIII.VIII (1849), 416-44. The texts were categorized according to the following: 'general accounts of the empire, travels through China and voyages to its borders, particular treatises upon subjects related to China, missionary relations and biographies, serial works upon, or including China in their plan, works of all kinds relating to regions beyond the provinces, works upon countries using the Chinese language'. The *Chinese Repository* was succeeded by *Transactions of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society's origins can be traced back to the Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society (founded in 1857). For more information on other knowledge-gathering institutions interested in China, see James Louis Hevia, 'The Archive State and the Fear of Pollution: From the Opium Wars to Fu-Manchu', *Cultural Studies*, 12.2 (1998), 234-64 (pp. 246-47).

information they obtained? Most of the books on the list were targeted at adult readers with an interest in China, in particular missionaries (e.g. *China: Its State and Prospects*), diplomats (e.g. *The Chinese: A General Description of China and its Inhabitants*), merchants (e.g. *The Present Position and Prospects of British Trade with China*), and travellers (e.g. *Three Year's Wanderings in the Northern Provinces of China*).[10] However, the fact that Jane Austen depicted Fanny Price reading a book about Lord Macartney's Embassy in *Mansfield Park* indicates that young nineteenth-century readers were also expected to read these books about China.[11]

This thesis is concerned with how children's fiction published from the 1850s to the early-twentieth century disseminated and popularized 'knowledge' of China through various discourses about 'the Chinese'. It examines the role of children's writers in mediating between the leading Chinese 'experts' of the time and young readers by drawing on and utilizing the wealth of material provided by travel writers, embassy officials, missionaries, journalists to construct certain visions of China for children in their books.

Engaging with China in the Nineteenth Century

The number of British travellers to China greatly increased after the Treaties

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[10] Walter Henry Medhurst, *China: Its State and Prospects, with Especial Reference to the Spread of the Gospel, Containing Allusions to the Antiquity, Extent, Population, Civilization, Literature, and Religion of the Chinese* (London: Snow, 1840). After the first Protestant missionary Robert Morrison (1782-1834) was sent to Canton in 1807, other missionaries soon followed and a steady outflow of writings appeared on China. Medhurst (1796-1857) worked with Morrison's son on translating the Bible into Chinese. John Francis Davis, *The Chinese: A General Description of the Empire of China and Its Inhabitants*, The Library of Entertaining Knowledge, 2 vols (London: Knight, 1836). More information about Davis will be given in Chapter Two. James Matheson, *The Present Position and Prospects of British Trade with China; Together with an Outline of Some Leading Occurrences in Its Past History* (London: Smith, Elder, 1836). For more information on Matheson, see Alain Le Pichon, ed., *China Trade and Empire: Jardine, Matheson & Co. and the Origins of British Rule in Hong Kong, 1827-1843* (London: British Academy, 2006). Robert Fortune, *Three Years' Wanderings in the Northern Provinces of China, Including a Visit to the Tea, Silk, and Cotton Countries: With an Account of the Agriculture and Horticulture of the Chinese, New Plants, Etc*, 2nd edn (London: Murray, 1847). Fortune will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two.

[11] Jane Austen. *Mansfield Park: A Novel*, ed. by James Kinsley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1814] 1990), pp. 140-41. One critic argues that Austen's heroine was most likely reading Sir John Barrow's work. See Peter Knox-Shaw, 'Fanny Price Refuses to Kowtow', *The Review of English Studies*, 47 (1996), 212-18 (p. 212).

of Tianjin were signed on 26 June 1858 towards the end of the Second Opium War (1856-60), because foreigners were then given the right to travel in the interior of China, the Yangzi River was opened to foreign ships, and Christian missionaries were allowed to do mission work in the inner provinces (see Appendix I at the end of the thesis for a timeline of major events in Sino-British relations, 1839-1911).[12] As Catherine Pagani points out, after the Opium War 'China was regarded as a marketable commodity just as were her products' and 'there was a seemingly insatiable interest in China and Chinese goods'.[13] Books providing information about the 'half-known' country became a valuable commodity because people wanted to become acquainted with 'the manners and habits of a people who [were] about for the first time to throw open their country to the trading visits of the "European Barbarians"'.[14] As more British subjects came into contact with China, more writing about the country was produced. Numerous descriptions of firsthand experiences in China could be found in travel books, personal memoirs, embassy and missionary reports, speeches, and letters. By 1892, the amount of writing on China had multiplied exponentially. As Henri Cordier[15] indicated in *Half a Decade*

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[12] According to Jurgen Osterhammel, the treaties signed after the two Opium wars 'were the legal infrastructure of informal empire. They had three main effects: First, their most-favoured nation clauses internationalized treaty privileges almost automatically and contributed to the working of the 'open door', that is, of equality of opportunity in the economic penetration of China. Secondly, the treaties conferred upon their beneficiaries advantages their indigenous competitors did not enjoy. The most important of these was non-economic: protection against the arbitrariness of the Chinese state. Thirdly, as soon as nationalist ideas and sentiments emerged in China, the treaties provided an ideal focus for anti-imperialist critique and agitation': 'Britain and China, 1842-1914', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire III: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Andrew Porter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 146-69 (p. 153).

[13] Catherine Pagani, 'Chinese Material Culture and British Perceptions of China in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', in *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture, and the Museum*, ed. by T. J. Barringer and Tom Flynn (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 28-40 (pp. 29; 34).

[14] Horace Stebbing Roscoe St. John, 'The War Tiger', *Athenaeum*, 1620 (1858), 617.

[15] According to Girardot, 'Cordier's classification system helped to establish the parameters for the new science of sinology': N. J. Girardot, *The Victorian Translation of China: James Legge's Oriental Pilgrimage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 141. Sinology was recognized as a distinct academic discipline in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1837, University College, London set up an appointment for a five-year Professor of Chinese position. Oxford University established the first Chair of Chinese in 1876 for James Legge (1815-1897), translator of *Analects of Confucius*. In 1888, Sir Thomas Wade became the first professor of Chinese at Cambridge. For more

of Chinese Studies (1886-1891):

> None but a bibliographer can have an exact idea of the enormous literary and scientific production having China as its object. In my *Bibliotheca Sinica*, published between the years 1878-1885, I have tried to give a complete survey of the immense field of researches on China. It is a little over five years since, and I have in print a supplement, a volume in itself, which shows more than any other fact the important place taken nowadays by studies not only of a scientific interest, but equally indispensable to commerce and politics.[16]

In 1901, *The Times* commented on the 'crowd of books on China'. By 1904, according to an article entitled 'The Flood of Books about China', the two Opium Wars, 'the trouble with France in the eighties [Sino-French War (1884-85)], the war with Japan in 1894 [Sino-Japanese War (1894-95)], and most of all the Boxer business of 1900 onwards, have been the source or fountain of a steady stream of booklets, volumes, and tomes in sets, running to a frightful aggregate'.[17] The words

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information on the development of Chinese studies in Britain, see Barrett, *Singular Listlessness*; Kjeld Eric Brodsgaard, 'China Studies in Europe', in *China-Europe Relations: Perceptions, Policies and Prospects*, ed. by David L. Shambaugh, Eberhard Sandschneider and Hong Zhou (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 35-64 (p. 36).

[16] Henri Cordier, *Half a Decade of Chinese Studies (1886-1891)* (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1892), p. 1. Books on commerce include *Twelve Years in China*, in which merchant J. R. Scarth analyses and evaluates the tea, silk, and sugar industries in China for aspiring entrepreneurs, and *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce in Pigtail and Petticoats* by T. T. Cooper (1839–78). A traveller with commercial interests, Cooper embarked on an overland journey from Shanghai to Calcutta in 1867 in order to map a more direct route between China and India. His book not only traces Cooper's attempts to discover this new route, it also identifies China's natural resources and provides information on Chinese customs. See John Scarth, *Twelve Years in China: The People, the Rebels, and the Mandarins* (London: Hamilton Adams, 1860); T. T. Cooper, *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce in Pigtail and Petticoats; or, an Overland Journey from China towards India* (London: Murray, 1871).

[17] 'Reviews of Books', *The Times*, 20 August 1901, p. 5. All articles from *The Times* mentioned in this thesis were accessed online at *The Times* Digital Archive, 1785-1985, <http://www.gale.com/Times/>; 'The Flood of Books about China', *North China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette*, 29 July 1904, p. 234. *The Times* sent its first special correspondent George Wingrove Cooke (1814-1865) to China in 1857. The popularity of his account of the second Opium War (1856-60) extended from England to France. Cooke was praised for faithfully retracing the events of the campaign and giving an accurate description of Chinese ports at the beginning of the war. See Mary Gertrude Mason, *Western Concepts of China and the Chinese, 1840-1876* (Westport, CT: Hyperion, 1939), p. 32. Subsequently, *The Times* posted Archibald Colquhoun (1848-1914) to China. Colquhoun asserted in *China in Transformation* that his numerous and varied experiences in different parts of Asia equipped him to provide a fresh perspective on Chinese affairs. The *Illustrated London News* carried numerous articles on China, particularly regarding Lord Elgin's China Campaign in early 1861. See Gillian B. Bickley, 'Plum Puddings and Sharp Boys, "One Touch of Nature Makes the Whole World Ken": An Analysis of the China Coverage in the *Illustrated London News*, 5 January to 23 September 1861', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch*, 38 (1998-99), 147-71.

'crowd', 'frightful', and 'flood' suggest a sense of being overwhelmed and inundated by this mass of information being published at such an unprecedented rate that the reading public felt threatened with 'information overload'.

As Martin Daunton and others have pointed out, the sheer amount of information made available to the Victorians during the nineteenth-century 'knowledge explosion' 'perplexed' both 'lay readers and specialists'.[18] This explosion of knowledge can be attributed to expanded sources of information and greater demand for knowledge from a society with higher income and more educational opportunities. Technological developments in printing, engraving, papermaking, and transport made mass production and distribution of information much easier.[19] Ordering, archiving, and reproducing this mass of information became a central concern.[20] As Thomas Richards observes in his *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire*, Victorians were obsessed with trying to control knowledge and order it in a systematic way because they believed that 'the control of Empire hinged on a British monopoly over knowledge'.[21] The Victorian archive was 'a prototype for a global system of domination through circulation, an apparatus for controlling territory by producing, distributing, and consuming information about it'.[22] However, according to Richards, the imperial

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[18] Martin Daunton, 'Introduction', in *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain*, ed. by Martin Daunton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 1-27 (p. 1).
[19] According to James A. Secord, 'The groundwork was laid for reading as a key part of modern mass culture. The steam-powered printing machine, machine-made paper, public libraries, cheap woodcuts, stereotyping, religious tracts, secular education, the postal system, telegraphy, and railway distribution played key parts in opening the floodgates into an increased public. The number of book titles published each year [...] reveals an impressive upward curve to the mid-1850s. Even more striking is the way that the price of books was declining. By the mid-1840s the number of medium-priced titles (3s. 7d. to 10s.) had already overtaken those at a higher price, and in the following decade the lead was taken by cheaper books (under 3s. 7d.)': James A. Secord, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of* Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 30.
[20] Daunton, 'Introduction', p. 16.
[21] Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993), p. 7.
[22] Richards, *The Imperial Archive*, p. 14.

archive was a 'fantasy' because it was not located in a central vault but comprised of scattered documents across the globe, making it impossible to fully monitor, control, and manipulate the information.

In *Useful Knowledge: The Victorians, Morality, and the March of Intellect*, Alan Rauch argues persuasively that during the nineteenth century, 'knowledge was being produced and consumed at such an unprecedented rate that few could ignore its growing impact on the culture'.[23] He emphasizes the importance of considering 'the seemingly peripheral constructions and popularizations of knowledge, such as encyclopedias and children's books' as 'both cultural signifiers and cultural forces' because 'knowledge has been—and continues to be—fetishized as something valuable for its own sake'.[24] In 1812, Joseph Guy stated in the preface to *Pocket Cyclopedia*: 'useful knowledge [...] will give intelligence to youth, it will accustom them to habits of reflection and inquiry, and teach them to look on objects around them with the EYE OF REASON'.[25] Realizing that 'knowledge' was a valuable currency, publishers marketed their books to target the Victorian thirst for 'useful knowledge'. For example, Thomas Nelson had a 'books of useful knowledge' category in their 1874 catalogue and C. Knight had 'The Library of Entertaining Knowledge' series, which included John Francis Davis's *The Chinese*.

Knowledge about China was not confined to print culture. Its presence in material culture in the form of willow pattern plates and other objects has been discussed by Catherine Pagani, Elizabeth Hope Chang, and Sarah Cheang.[26] China

[23] Alan Rauch, *Useful Knowledge: The Victorians, Morality, and the March of Intellect* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), p. 21.
[24] Rauch, *Useful Knowledge*, pp. 6; 3. For a brief history of the development of the encyclopedia, see Chapter Five of Daniel R. Headrick, *When Information Came of Age: Technologies of Knowledge in the Age of Reason and Revolution, 1700-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). See also Robert Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopâedie, 1775-1800* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1979).
[25] Quoted in Rauch, *Useful Knowledge*, p. 6.
[26] Catherine Pagani, 'Objects and the Press: Images of China in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press*, ed. by Julie F. Codell

was also very much a part of British visual culture from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Victorians were invited to 'visualize' China by attending various exhibitions or shows, including the Chinese Collection at Hyde Park, the Great Exhibition of 1851, the Chinese junk *Keying*, Albert Smith's China, and numerous missionary exhibitions such as *The Orient in London* (1908).[27]

In 1842, American collector Nathan Dunn (1782-1844), who had lived in China for over a decade, introduced the British to his 'Ten Thousand Chinese Things', which had been exhibited in the United States at the Philadelphia Museum before arriving in London's Hyde Park. Although the admission price (2s. 6d.) was

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(Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson Univeristy Press, 2003), pp. 147-66; Elizabeth Hope Chang, 'Garden, Plate, and Den: The Chinese Aesthetic in Nineteenth-Century British Literature and Visual Culture', (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2004); Sarah Cheang, 'The Ownership and Collection of Chinese Material Culture by Women in Britain, ca. 1890-1935', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 2003).

[27] The Great Exhibition will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two. Purchased by British captain Charles A. Kellett from an unknown American and stocked with numerous Chinese objects, the *Keying* was an 'authentic ship' that sailed from China in 1846 to England, via the United States. Kellett hired twenty European sailors and several Chinese men to help man the 'floating museum', which became a spectacle in New York as well as an object of ridicule. In London, many visitors paid the one-shilling entrance fee to board the ship, which was open to the public after the Queen visited it in 1848. The *Illustrated London News* and Chamber's *Edinburgh Journal* both published articles noting the 'curious' and 'interesting' display aboard the junk. Prior to being dismantled in 1853, the floating exhibition enjoyed considerable popularity. For the American reception of the *Keying* see John Rogers Haddad, *The Romance of China: Excursions to China in U.S. Culture: 1776-1876* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008). See also Pagani, 'Objects and the Press', pp. 154-58. A few years after the Great Exhibition, mountaineer Albert Smith opened Mont Blanc to China on 22 December 1858, after his trip to Hong Kong and Canton. The hall of the venue was lined with Confucian aphorisms and led to a pagoda, a Cantonese pavilion, and a shop. The first part of the show featured some of the characters from Smith's previous Mont Blanc show and material from the Old Overland Mail, while the second part focused on a panorama and concluded with mechanical figures marching over a setting of a gigantic willow pattern plate. The show, which lasted until 1860, was not very successful however, and one visitor remarked that although the show was 'very amusing', Smith 'really tells one nothing about China that one did not know before [...]'. See Richard Daniel Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1978), pp. 477-78. For more information on the show, see J. Monroe Thorington, *Mont Blanc Sideshow: The Life and Times of Albert Smith* (Philadelphia: Winston, 1934) and 'Mont Blanc to China', *China Express: A Summary of European, British Colonial, and American News for The Far East*, 11 April 1859, p. 238. In 1865, an extensive collection of items acquired at the destruction of Yuanmingyuan (the Emperor's Summer Palace) was exhibited at the Crystal Palace. Many of the artefacts belonged to French army officer J. L. de Negroni, who brought over objects ranging from a red lacquer cabinet to a carved stone grotto. See Pagani, 'Objects and the Press', p. 161. There was also a Chinese Magicians show at Theatre Royal Drury Lane in 1854 that consisted of twelve performers 'brought over from the celestial empire at an enormous expense to the United States': E. T. Smith, 'Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. Chinese Magicians', (London: Francis, 1854). For information on missionary exhibitions, see Sarah Cheang, '"Our Missionary Wembley": China, Local Community and the British Missionary Empire, 1901-1924', *East Asian History*, 32/33 (2006/2007), 177-98.

higher than the entrance fee of most London shows (1s.), large crowds flocked to see the exhibition when it was opened to the general public on 23 June 1842 because they regarded it 'as one of the duties of the London season'.[28] *The Times* reported that the exhibit was 'amongst the most curious ever opened in London'.[29] Those outside London also had the opportunity to view the collection because it toured large towns and cities in Britain after 1846. The exhibition catalogue sold well despite a *Chinese Repository* article that addressed its inaccuracies: by 1844, sales of the pamphlet had accumulated to 54,000 and Catherine Pagani estimates that more than 300,000 copies of the London edition were sold.[30] As an illustration in the *Illustrated London News* reveals, children were among the visitors to the 'Ten Thousand Chinese Things' exhibition (see Figure 2). The article praises the exhibit for teaching by 'things rather than words', claiming that as 'a means of education this enterprise is invaluable'.[31] Therefore it is not surprising that Old Humphrey (pseudonym of George Mogridge), the narrator of *The Celestial Empire; or, Points and Pickings of Information about China and the Chinese* (1844), informs his young readers that he has been to the exhibit many times and urges them to visit as well, because it is 'the best Collection of Chinese Curiosities in the whole world'.[32] He

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[28] Alan Cox, 'Pagoda and Celestial Palace: The Chinese Collection in Knightsbridge', *Westminster History Review*, 3 (1999), 19-24 (p. 19).

[29] 'The Chinese Collection', *The Times*, 5 November 1844, p. 1. For more information on the exhibit, see Elizabeth Phillips, 'A Pagoda in Knightsbridge', *The Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies*, IV.2 (1984), 37-42.

[30] See 'Ten Thousand Chinese Things Relating to China and the Chinese', *Chinese Repository*, XII.11 (1843), 561-82; Cox, 'Pagoda and Celestial Palace', p. 21; Pagani, 'Chinese Material Culture', p. 35. The exhibition net $50,000 a year for nearly half a decade. See John Haddad, 'The Romantic Collector in China: Nathan Dunn's Ten Thousand Chinese Things', *Journal of American Culture*, 21.1 (1998), 7-26 (p. 23).

[31] 'The Chinese Collection, Hyde Park Corner', *Illustrated London News*, 6 August 1842, pp. 204-05 (p. 205).

[32] The book received many positive reviews, which were included in an advertisement from its publisher that was appended to William Dalton's *The White Elephant*: "'This very handsome volume contains an almost incredible amount of information'.—*Church and State Gazette* 'The book is exactly what the author proposed it should be, full of good information, good feeling, and good temper'.—*Allen's Indian Mail* 'Even well-known topics are treated with a graceful air of novelty'.—*Athenaeum*" (23). William Dalton, *The White Elephant; or, the Hunters of Ava and the King of the Golden Foot* (London: Griffith and Farran, 1860).

also notes that the collection will correct some misguided views of China: 'Should it be that you happen to think, as hundreds do, that the Chinese are a race of sleek headed simpletons, incapable of works of art, the Exhibition will at once reprove and correct you. The proprietor of it has three good things in his possession, good sense, good taste, and a good knowledge of China'.[33] This statement suggests that China should not be underestimated and that children who thought dismissively of the Chinese must be corrected.

Why did British children need to have 'good knowledge' of China? Old Humphrey explains that 'late events have rendered it [China] of increasing importance to Great Britain. Some knowledge of it, then, becomes interesting, if not necessary to all; and you would hardly like to be found ignorant of that which other young people know'.[34] Considering that the book was published in 1844, 'the late events' Old Humphrey referred to must have been China's defeat in the first Opium War (1839-42) and the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing on 29 August 1842 which allowed the British, whose previous activities were restricted to an area called the Factories near the Canton River, to step outside the boundaries to conduct trade in

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[33] Old Humphrey, *The Celestial Empire; or, Points and Pickings of Information About China and the Chinese* (London: Grant and Griffith, 1844), pp. 8-9. Readers of *The New Gift Book for Youth* (1848) were also told that this exhibition has shown 'thousands of delighted visitors the manners and productions of the empire' in 'vivid reality': *The New Gift Book for Youth: Being Interesting Sketches & Pictures Concerning the Arctic Regions. Icebergs. The Oak Struck by Lightning. The Roots of the Banian Tree. The Nest of the Wild Bee. The Heavens. The Moon. The Seasons. Peeps through the Microscope. Human Blood and Hair. Diamond Washing. The Rise of the Thames. Earthquake at Lisbon. Bears and Bear Hunting. Lion and Tiger Fight. Tiger Hunting. Stags Fighting. Ascent of the Wetterhorn. Crossing the Andes. Glances at China. Ancient Punishments. Walrus Hunting. London Past and Present. Railway and the Steam Engine. Ancient Map of the World* (London: R. Yorke Clarke, 1848), n. pag.

[34] Old Humphrey, *The Celestial Empire*, p. 5. George Mogridge (1787-1854) first used the pseudonym 'Old Humphrey' in 1833 when he began writing for the Religious Tract Society's periodical *The Weekly Visitor*. Mogridge used over twenty pseudonyms and produced 226 works (stories, collections, verses) for a range of publishers (Religious Tract Society, Houlston & Son, Tegg, Grant, and Griffiths, Nesbit & Co., Sunday School Union, Working Men's Educational Union). See Patricia Demers, 'Mogridge, George (1787-1854)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18879> [accessed 16 April 2009]. For more information on Modgridge, see Charles Williams, *George Mogridge: His Life, Character, and Writings* (London: Ward and Lock, 1856).

five treaty ports.[35] He notes that people may have different views of the Opium War but 'true philanthropists will unite in the desire that it may lead to the prosperity of both Great Britain and China'.[36]

Figure 2: 'The Chinese Collection, Hyde Park Corner' (and detail showing child), *Illustrated London News*, 6 August 1842[37]

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[35] The five treaty ports were Canton, Amoy (Xiamen), Fuzhou, Ningbo, and Shanghai. For more information regarding the treaty ports, see John King Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842-1854*, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953).

[36] Old Humphrey, *The Celestial Empire*, p. 88.

[37] 'The Chinese Collection, Hyde Park Corner', p. 204.

The narrator identifies China as an important country to know about not only because of Britain's interest in it, but more significantly, because one does not want to be found 'ignorant', like the 'hundreds' that think 'the Chinese are a race of sleek headed simpletons'. He suggests to be found 'ignorant' compared to other young people would be a shameful experience. Considering that *The Celestial Kingdom* was priced at 3s. 6d., it was meant for middle and upper-class households headed by parents who wanted their children to succeed in a society where 'cultural capital' (to borrow Pierre Bourdieu's term) was becoming an important thing to obtain.[38] Just as a visit to a museum or an exhibit such as the Chinese Collection at Hyde Park was an indicator of 'good taste', being knowledgeable about China distinguished one from the 'hundreds' of uninformed people who held a simplistic view of the Chinese. As Dennis Denisoff points out, during the nineteenth century, 'the young did function as possessions with currency within a system of cultural exchange'.[39] Therefore it could also be argued that knowledgeable children could also be seen as part of their parents' 'symbolic capital' (also Bourdieu's term). Being the parents of well-educated sons and daughters would help elevate one's status and prestige in a society where encyclopedia salesmen suggested that 'a family deprived of an encyclopedia is a family that is willing to limit its children'.[40] In the context of this cultural climate, parents who wished the best for their children were not only

[38] According to Simon Eliot, prior to 1855, the average book cost more than 3s. 6d. *The Bookseller* reveals that from 1858-95 books at 3s. 6d. or under dominated the list. This price was still too high for most working class families, however, and they most likely bought penny fiction rather than books published at shilling prices. For more information regarding book prices, see Simon Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing, 1800-1919* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1994). For details on the concept of cultural capital, see Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, 2nd edn (London: Sage, 1990); Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Market of Symbolic Goods', *Poetics*, 14.1-2 (1985), 13-44. For discussion on the importance of cultural capital to Victorians, see Lara Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).
[39] Dennis Denisoff, 'Small Change: The Consumerist Designs of the Nineteenth-Century Child',in *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture*, ed. by Dennis Denisoff (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 1-26 (p. 8).
[40] Rauch, *Useful Knowledge*, p. 3. According to Headrick, by 1830, an encyclopedia 'had become one of the fixtures of a bourgeois household': Headrick, *When Information Came of Age*, p. 172.

encouraged to purchase encyclopedias, but also books such as Old Humphrey's which provided specific knowledge about China, for, as the motto of the weekly *Poor Man's Guardian* (1831-35) proclaimed: 'Knowledge is Power'.[41]

Clearly knowledge about China was worth acquiring. However, according to Old Humphrey, because 'China is too long, too wide, too crowded with people, too strange, too full of curiosities, too everything to be brought into a small compass', he will '*point out*, and to *pick out*, for your advantage, what will most amuse you, and what is best deserving of your attention'.[42] The repetition of the word 'too' also anticipates the 'frightful' flood of books on China that would inundate the book market sixty years later. China is presented as a country filled with too much complex information for young readers to be able to navigate on their own. Just as children needed to be guided by adults in visiting Nathan Dunn's exhibit, which may have been very overwhelming with thousands of Chinese objects, child readers needed an adult like the avuncular Old Humphrey to 'pick out' and 'point out' the 'knowledge' that would be most advantageous for them to have.

Old Humphrey informs readers that he aims to provide a 'careful, correct, and sprightly selection of such things as well afford young people the most pleasure and the most profit'.[43] In using the word 'profit', he hints that by consuming this information about China, their cultural capital had the potential to be converted into economic capital. At the end of the book, he concludes, 'I have now given you "points and pickings" of China enough to occupy your thoughts. See, then, that you

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[41] According to Tsao, this phrase was popularized by the *Poor Man's Guardian* in the 1830s: Ting Man Tsao, 'A Reading of Readings: English Travel Books, Audiences, and Modern Chinese History, c. 1832 to the Present', in *Asian Crossings: Travel Writing on China, Japan and Southeast Asia*, ed. by Steve Clark and Paul Smethurst (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008), pp. 47-70 (p. 52).
[42] Old Humphrey, *The Celestial Empire*, pp. 1-2. (emphasis in the original)
[43] Old Humphrey, *The Celestial Empire*, p. 2.

turn your knowledge to advantage'.[44] His imperative tone suggests that children were expected to take action and not simply treat these facts as entertaining information. As the anonymous author of the poem 'Let's be up and doing!' urged readers of *The Boys' Journal*, 'Let's be up and doing, nor wait for the morrow!'[45]

How could young British readers turn their knowledge to advantage? As an article in the *Boy's Own Paper* (1879-1967) entitled 'How to Become a Student Interpreter in China, Japan, and Siam' (1893-94) reveals, towards the end of the nineteenth century, it was advantageous to have knowledge of Asian languages such as Chinese because this could be turned into a promising career.[46] The *Boy's Own Paper* author points out the benefits of serving as a student interpreter for the British Consul: he 'has an important future before him, for the consul is in those busy Eastern ports a guardian of English commercial interests, a dispense of law, justice, and hospitality, and above all, he is a representative of that sovereign lady on whose "empire the sun never sets"'.[47] As this article reveals, knowledge of China and the Chinese no longer simply functioned as cultural capital but could be turned into economic capital because those possessing this linguistic capability could become 'guardians' of British interests, bring law and order to the East, and represent the glorious British Empire. One of the aims of this thesis then is to identify what other 'knowledge' about China was considered advantageous for Victorian and Edwardian

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[44] Old Humphrey, *The Celestial Empire*, p. 316.
[45] Quoted in Louis James, '"Now Inhale the Gas": Interactive Readership in Two Victorian Boys' Periodicals, 1855-1870', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 42.1 (2009), 64-80 (p. 64).
[46] Three months after its debut on the market, more than 200,000 copies of the *Boy's Own Paper* were sold. In July 1879, Hutchison speculated that around 600,000 readers had perused the pages of the magazine during these initial months. By the late 1880s circulation figures reached over 500,000 a week. According to Dunae, actual readership may have been as high as one and one quarter million, because the trade usually estimated that two or three boys read each copy. Total circulation may have been higher because the number of weekly copies rose to 665,000 in later years. From its second year on the market, the *Boy's Own Paper*'s circulation figures were higher than '"all the other boy's journals put together"': Patrick A. Dunae, 'The Boy's Own Paper: Origins and Editorial Policies', *The Private Library*, 9.4 (1976), 123-58 (pp. 133-34).
[47] F. R. R., 'How to Become a Student Interpreter in China, Japan, and Siam', *Boy's Own Paper*, 16 (1893-94), 207.

children. If we adopt Michael Bentley's definition of knowledge ('paradigms of what was and what was not to count as worth knowing'), the question then becomes: what did authors think was worth knowing about China and the Chinese?[48]

The Celestial Empire is just one of the numerous texts on China for children published in Great Britain between the years 1840-1940, many of which were reprinted in the United States.[49] Another author who sought to capitalize on Britain's growing fascination with China was William Dalton, who wrote *The Wolf Boy of China; or Incidents and Adventures in the Life of Lyu-Payo.* Published in 1857, a time when the passion for 'facts' dominated the education sector and children's book market, *The Wolf Boy of China* guides readers through China as if it was a large museum exhibition, filled with information about the customs and manners of the Chinese.[50] Contemporary reviewers claimed that 'the odd customs of the Celestial people are represented with rigid truthfulness' in this book.[51] Having never travelled to China, Dalton relied on various sources to create an 'encyclopaedic' picture of the place. One of his main sources was Jean-Baptiste Du Halde's four-volume *The General History of China* (1735), which was considered the most authoritative source on China until well into the nineteenth century. Du Halde himself had never been to China and relied on correspondence with Jesuit missionaries for information

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48 Michael Bentley, 'The Evolution and Dissemination of Historical Knowledge', in *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain*, ed. by Martin Daunton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 173-98 (p. 175). According to Richards, the Victorians regarded facts as raw knowledge (snippets of knowledge), or knowledge awaiting ordering. See Richards, *The Imperial Archive*, p. 4.

49 There are over six hundred children's texts related to China in the Mortlake Collection of the Australian National University Library, the National Library of Australia, the University of Melbourne Library, the British Library, London University School of Oriental and African Studies Library, National Art Library (Victoria and Albert Museum's Renier Collection of Children's Literature), Bodleian Library, and Cambridge University Library.

50 As a *Quarterly Review* writer observed in 1844, 'one broad and general impression left with us is that of the excessive ardour for *teaching* which prevails throughout. No matter how these authors may differ as to the mode, they all agree as to the necessity of presenting knowledge to the mind under what they conceive to be the most intelligible form, and getting down as much as can be swallowed' (emphasis in the original): 'Children's Books', *Quarterly Review*, LXXIV.CXLVII (1844), 1-26 (p. 2).

51 'Reviews: Christmas Books for Children', *Baptist Magazine*, L (1858), 31-34 (p. 33).

on the 'Celestial Kingdom'.[52]

Fifty years after Dalton was commended for his 'wide and accurate knowledge of foreign lands', popular children's writer Charles Gilson was also praised for his 'wide knowledge of the world'.[53] This emphasis on 'accurate knowledge' and 'rigid truthfulness' suggests an urgent need to demystify and understand the Chinese, who were often presented as 'inscrutable' and hence unpredictable and dangerous.[54] Authors such as Dalton and Gilson tried to mediate a complex textual discourse on China that had been developing in Europe for hundreds of years, seeking to make these erudite texts more accessible for the child reader by combining 'instruction' with 'amusement' in their stories. While scholars have considered the role international exhibits, museums, libraries, and other sites played in making knowledge of China accessible to the British public, few have considered the part children's books played in this process.[55] Despite the wealth of material related to China in Victorian and Edwardian children's literature, relatively few scholarly works have been published on the subject.[56]

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[52] J. B. Du Halde (1674-1743) will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two.

[53] See the catalogue of Dalton's books in front of William Dalton, *The Wasps of the Ocean: or, Little Waif and the Pirate of the Eastern Seas. A Romance of Travel and Adventure in China and Siam* (London: Marlborough, 1869), p. 5. The Old Fag, 'Editorial (Captain Charles Gilson)', *The Captain*, XVII (1907), 58.

[54] John H. Powers examines journalistic memoirs of China and observes that a prominent theme is what they call 'the inscrutable Chinese phenomenon', in which the journalists guide readers to a more accurate understanding of China and the Chinese. See John H. Powers, 'Journalistic Memoirs of China: The Discourse of Foreign Reporters', in *Civic Discourse, Civil Society, and Chinese Communities*, ed. by Randy Kluver and John H. Powers (Stamford, CT: Ablex, 1999), pp. 23-40 (p. 26).

[55] In 1802, educator, writer, and reviewer Sarah Trimmer (1741-1810) explained in 'Observations on the Changes Which Have Taken Places in Books for Children and Young Persons' that books published for the young could be divided into two categories: 'Books *for Children*, and Books *for Young Persons* [...] supposing all young gentlemen and ladies to be *Children*, till they are *fourteen*, and *young persons* till they are at least twenty-one [...]'. Quoted in Aidan Chambers, *Booktalk: Occasional Writing on Literature and Children* (London: Bodley, 1985), p. 85. In this thesis, 'children's books' refers to both categories.

[56] While the works of Julia Ching and Willard Gurdon Oxtoby, Jonathan Spence, Raymond Dawson, Adrian Hsia, Colin Mackerras, Jerome Ch'en, Thomas Lee, Eric Reinders, David Porter, Jeng-Guo S. Chen, Longxi Zhang, Lianhong Chen, and others provide insight into how different European nations perceived China throughout history, their texts focus mostly on the writings of travellers (e.g. Isabella Bird Bishop, Archibald Little, Robert Fortune), missionaries (e.g. Matteo Ricci, Domingo Navarrete, W. H. Medhurst) and embassy officials (e.g. Francisco Pimentel, George Staunton). See Julia Ching

Scholarly works that discuss the image of foreigners in Victorian and Edwardian children's literature have tended to focus on Africa or India.[57] Images of China, however, have been discussed in only a few books and articles. In *The Image of Asia in Children's Literature, 1814-1964*, Câecile Parrish asserts that with the exception of Kipling's stories, 'the young Empire-building heroes look upon the Asian with amusement or contempt. Appearing as the enemy he is dangerous, but cowardly at heart. He can be a loyal servant and he can fight, but he is on the whole marked by the sullenness, treachery and duplicity of a captive race'.[58] Similarly, Louis James, who briefly comments on racial stereotypes in the penny publications of Edwin J. Brett and Charles Fox, finds Chinese characters treated with 'amusement': 'The Chinese, although "wily", were treated often with a mixture of

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and Willard Gurdon Oxtoby, eds., *Discovering China: European Interpretations in the Enlightenment* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1992); Jonathan D. Spence, *The Chan's Great Continent: China in Western Minds* (New York: Norton, 1998); Raymond Stanley Dawson, *The Chinese Chameleon: An Analysis of European Conceptions of Chinese Civilization* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967); Adrian Hsia, ed., *The Vision of China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1998); Colin Mackerras, *Western Images of China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Jerome Ch'en, *China and the West: Society and Culture, 1815-1937* (London: Hutchinson, 1979); Thomas H.C. Lee, ed., *China and Europe: Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1991); Eric Robert Reinders, *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); David Porter, 'A Peculiar but Uninteresting Nation: China and the Discourse of Commerce in Eighteenth-Century England', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 33.2 (2000), 181-99; Jeng-Guo S. Chen, 'The British View of Chinese Civilization and the Emergence of Class Consciousness', *Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation*, 45.2 (2004), 193-216; Longxi Zhang, *Mighty Opposites: From Dichotomies to Differences in the Comparative Study of China* (London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1976); Lianhong Chen, 'A Cross-Cultural Dialogue: Eighteenth-Century British Representations of China', (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1996).

[57] The image of Africa in children's literature has been discussed in Mawuena Kossi Logan, *Narrating Africa: George Henty and the Fiction of Empire* (New York: Garland, 1999); Kathryn Castle, 'The Representation of Africa in Mid-Victorian Children's Magazines', in *Black Victorians/Black Victoriana*, ed. by Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003), pp. 145-58; Jake W. Spidle, 'Victorian Juvenilia and the Image of the Black African', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 9.1 (1975), 51-65; Detlev Gohrbandt, 'Mapping or Constructing Africa? Notes on R. M. Ballantyne's Juvenile Fiction', in *Fusion of Cultures?*, ed. by Peter O. Stummer and Christopher Balme (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), pp. 129-38. Ackerman and Goswami have written about the image of India. Ann Trugman Ackerman, 'Victorian Ideology and British Children's Literature, 1850-1914', (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Texas, 1984); Supriya Goswami, 'The Post-Mutiny Imperial Boy Hero: Bridging Cultural Divides in Sara Jeanette Duncan's *The Story of Sonny Sahib*', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 34.1 (2009), 38-50; Supriya Goswami, 'Fictions of Empire: Colonial India and Nineteenth-Century Children's Literature', (unpublished doctoral dissertation, The George Washington University, 2002).

[58] Câecile Parrish, *The Image of Asia in Children's Literature, 1814-1964* (Clayton, Vic.: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies Monash University, 1977), p. 18.

amusement and respect, perhaps out of recognition that China was also an empire'.[59] Another critic who comments on the 'mixed' attitude towards the Chinese is Laurence Kitzan, who states in *Victorian Writers and the Image of Empire: The Rose-Colored Vision* that

> Writers' attitudes to China were really very mixed. Villains to be found there were among the blackest in the fiction of the period, thoroughly depraved and vicious, without conscience or sense of humanity, with a cunning all the more dangerous because it was informed by an ancient civilization that placed a good deal of emphasis on education. On the other hand, Chinese characters could appear to be very sophisticated, polite, and trustworthy. Scholars were highly intelligent, pirates vicious, merchants good-tempered, officials supercilious, peasants ignorant, and servants faithful. Certainly, China was a very slippery area to deal with [...].[60]

China was indeed a 'very slippery area to deal with' and deserves to be addressed in much more detail than Kitzan does in his book, particularly with regard to how the changes in images of the Chinese during the latter part of the nineteenth century were contingent upon Sino-British relations at the particular historical moment.

Critics that address China in their studies usually compare it to Africa or India, such as Kathryn Castle in her *Britannia's Children: Reading Colonialism through Children's Books and Magazines*, which discusses the representation of Africa, India, and China in late nineteenth-century children's textbooks and periodicals. According to Castle, the primary message of the texts she examines is 'dominance over "imperial races"'.[61] She concludes that '[w]hile the Chinese character might have in reality remained less controlled, and less "knowable", than either the Indian or the African, this did not deter the annuals from creating an image of the country which

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[59] Louis James, 'Tom Brown's Imperialist Sons', *Victorian Studies*, 17.1 (1973-74), 89-99 (p. 97). There is a very brief discussion of the representation of the Chinese in popular boy's magazines in Patrick Dunae, 'Boys' Literature and the Idea of Race: 1870-1900', *Wascana Review*, 12.1 (1977), 84-107.

[60] Laurence Kitzan, *Victorian Writers and the Image of Empire: The Rose-Colored Vision* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2001), p. 51. He does not give any examples to support his assertions about the Chinese.

[61] Kathryn Castle, *Britannia's Children: Reading Colonialism through Children's Books and Magazines* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 8.

reflected national concerns and abiding stereotypes'.[62] Unlike Kitzan, she states that authors of the annuals presented to 'British youth generalisations about a Chinese character which contained few positive aspects'.[63] The only way the Chinese could 'enjoy a positive image in the fiction set in the wider world', Castle asserts, is for them to be 'brought within the remit of the European order, colonised in fiction more completely than they would ever be in reality'.[64] In making these conclusions, she is operating under the idea that all of these texts are inextricably tied with imperialism.

Critics such as Castle have tended to emphasize the negative discourse and stereotypical images of the Chinese in late nineteenth-century children's literature, concentrating on the portrayal of Chinese villains and the establishment of an 'Us' versus 'Them' mentality. While acknowledging the imperialist rhetoric and stereotypes evident in many texts, I present in this thesis some children's texts that challenge the conclusions made by critics such as Castle that read Victorian and Edwardian children's literature through their interpretation of Edward Said's concept of Orientalism which argues that the West, because of a dominating desire to govern the Orient, tame its hostility, and claim authority over it, constructed it as uniform, backward, inferior, fixed, and unchanging—'absolutely different' from the Occident.[65] I argue that the uniformity of negative stereotypes in children's writing of the Victorian and Edwardian period has been exaggerated. For example, Castle's claim that that 'the young would arguably have looked with fear and suspicion on Chinese encountered within the boundaries of their own country' is repudiated by A. Harcourt Burrage's 'Ching Ching Memoirs' which reveals that children in the late-

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[62] Castle, *Britannia's Children*, p. 157.
[63] Castle, *Britannia's Children*, p. 142.
[64] Castle, *Britannia's Children*, p. 151.
[65] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978), p. 96.

nineteenth century enthusiastically greeted a Chinese man who lingered around Fleet Street as if he was Ching-Ching, the popular character created by E. Harcourt Burrage, which will be discussed in Chapter Three.[66] Comparing stories set in China with those about Africa, Castle states, '[t]here was no parallel to the "adoption" of the English into African tribes, or stories of brother turning against his own to save an English life'.[67] However, as Chapters Four and Five will show, stories set during the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64) and Boxer Uprising (1899-1901) feature Chinese characters risking their lives to save their English and American friends.

Just as scholars such as Castle criticize the children's texts for racist misrepresentations of the Chinese, they often misrepresent the texts by choosing passages selectively in order to support their argument or by only discussing books of a particular genre (e.g. adventure stories). Because the rise of the adventure story genre in the late 1860s coincided with the confidence in the expanding British Empire and the need to encourage British youth to become patriotic empire builders dedicated to sustaining the glory and power of the Empire, these texts tend to reflect more stereotypical images of foreigners. It is therefore not surprising that critics such as Kitzan have mostly examined Victorian adventure stories, a genre which has been a popular topic among researchers of children's literature and postcolonial scholars.[68]

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[66] Castle, *Britannia's Children*, pp. 141-42.
[67] Castle, *Britannia's Children*, p. 156.
[68] Much research on Victorian children's literature has focused on the genre of 'boy's adventure story' with regard to the ideology of imperialism, discourses on masculinity, and tropes such as the 'faithful' servant, the 'evil' natives, and the 'noble savage'. See Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1991); Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968); Martin Burgess Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (New York: Basic Books, 1979); John M. MacKenzie, ed., *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986); Dieter Petzold, 'The Respectable Adventurers: Some Functions of Adventure Stories, Predominantly in the Nineteenth Century', in *Functions of Literature: Essays Presented to Erwin Wolff on His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. by Ulrich Broich, Theo Stemmler and Gerd Stratmann (Turingen: Niemeyer, 1984), pp. 251-68; Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (London: Routledge, 1997); Nancy J. Schmidt, 'The Writer as Teacher: A Comparison of the African Adventure Stories of G. A.

In recent years, a number of scholars have pointed out the limitations and inadequacies of the postcolonial approach. For example, Lynn Festa and Daniel Carey contend that employing postcolonial theory may 'allow elements of material analysis [...] to be subsumed under a postcolonial rationale, as scholars fall into the trap of writing to the theory, rather than to the history or to the text. The tendency to constitute the agency of empire in terms of nation states has occluded categories of sex/gender, rank, language, ethnicity, religion, and region'.[69] When writing about the Victorian period, postcolonial scholars have tended, in the words of Douglas A. Lorimer, to represent the Victorians as 'the racist Other in binary opposition to our implicit nonracist Self. This reconstruction often relies on a limited selection of sources wherein extreme racist views are presented as representative opinion'.[70] Christopher Herbert criticizes postcolonial scholars for denigrating Victorian texts related to the Indian Mutiny as full of 'obnoxious political and racial sentiments'.[71] He points out that their conclusions come out of an assumption that '[a]ll the mechanisms of imperialist society, political, cultural, psychological, work in concert

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Henty, Rene Guillot, and Barbara Kimenye', *African Studies Review*, 19.2 (1976), 69-80; Nicholas Tucker, 'Finding the Right Voice: The Search for the Ideal Companion in Adventure Stories', in *The Voice of the Narrator in Children's Literature: Insights from Writers and Critics*, ed. by Charlotte F. and Gary D. Schmidt Otten (New York: Greenwood, 1989), pp. 141-47; Robert H. MacDonald, *The Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism, 1880-1918* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); Victor Norman Shea, 'Reading Adventure, Reading Empire, Reading 1884', (unpublished doctoral thesis, York University, 1996); Jeffrey Richards, ed., *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989); Andrea White, *Joseph Conrad and the Adventure Tradition: Constructing and Deconstructing the Imperial Subject* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Kelly Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855-1940* (New York: Palgrave, 2003); Patrick Howarth, *Play up and Play the Game: The Heroes of Popular Fiction* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1973).

[69] Lynn Festa and Daniel Carey, 'Introduction: Some Answers to the Question: "What Is the Postcolonial Enlightenment?"' in *The Postcolonial Enlightenment: Eighteenth-Century Colonialism and Postcolonial Theory*, ed. by Daniel Carey and Lynn Festa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 1-33 (p. 24).

[70] Douglas A. Lorimer, 'Reconstructing Victorian Racial Discourse: Images of Race, the Language of Race Relations, and the Context of Black Resistance', in *Black Victorians/Black Victoriana*, ed. by Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003), pp. 187-207 (p. 187).

[71] Christopher Herbert, *War of No Pity: The Indian Mutiny and Victorian Trauma* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), p. 3.

to reinforce and to rationalize domination'.[72] Herbert warns that our judgement can be distorted if 'we implicitly and uncritically take as our standard of historical comparison a utopian imaginary nation whose popular opinion would be free of xenophobia and such vices, if only it existed'.[73] From his close reading of Victorian Mutiny literature, he concludes that 'it is not monolithic and cannot properly be read as anything like a confident allegory of British virtue and racial entitlement to rule'.[74]

Similarly, it is important not to treat Victorian and Edwardian children's fiction related to China as a homogeneous group of texts that adhere to 'abiding stereotypes'. The representation of the Chinese was not stable during this time, contrary to Parrish's assertion that 'the themes of these books remained remarkably stable as far as the pattern of character and action, and the presentation of Asians according to stereotyped patterns is concerned'.[75] If one wanted to support the idea that Victorian children's literature presented the Chinese according to 'stereotyped patterns', one could quote this passage from *The Lands of the Rising Sun: A Talk with English Boys and Girls about China, Corea and Japan* (1895):

> People in China think the left the place of honour, begin a book at the end, read down a page instead of across; they do not say Mr. John Smith, but Smith John Mr.; their men wear petticoats and their women wear trousers; they put white on for a funeral [...] It is just like a land behind the looking-glass where left and right get all twisted round.[76]

At first glance this statement seems to be another example that supports the claim that all British authors presented China as a topsy-turvy nation where 'everything goes by opposites'.[77] However, the author warns several pages later, 'It is not fair to think that everything is bad in China; the people are very sunny-faced and good-

[72] Herbert, *War of No Pity*, p. 5.
[73] Herbert, *War of No Pity*, p. 16.
[74] Herbert, *War of No Pity*, p. 17.
[75] Parrish, *The Image of Asia*, p. 18.
[76] W. T. A. Barber, *The Lands of the Rising Sun: A Talk with English Boys and Girls about China, Corea and Japan* (London: Kelly, 1895), p. 5.
[77] Barber, *The Lands of the Rising Sun*, p. 5.

tempered, although they are desperately poor; they love their homes and are exceedingly dutiful and obedient to their parents; they are good to the destitute, and they are, on the whole, hard-working, temperate, and honest'.[78] If we only read the first part, we might come to the conclusion that child readers were being taught to define themselves as everything the Chinese were not through the use of binary oppositions. However, closer reading reveals that positive qualities of diligence, honesty, and filial piety were also attributed to the Chinese character. The aim of this thesis is not to argue that stereotypes about topsy-turvydom and images of the Chinese as rat-eating people with long fingernails who administered cruel punishments did not exist, but to present co-existing representations from the rich repository of children's texts that were more complex and ambiguous. It is easy to read selectively and argue that children were reading material that, according to Castle, secured 'the youth into the imperial ethos' through 'both positive identification with Britishness and distancing from the undesirable "other"'.[79] However, to approach these texts from a postcolonial perspective and conclude that they simply performed the function of reaffirming British superiority over Chinese inferiority is to miss the rich textures evident in many of them.

This thesis aims to provide a more expansive look at representations of China and the Chinese in Victorian and Edwardian children's fiction.[80] Using an intensive close reading of these texts to reveal contradictions and ambivalences, I argue that the plurality of viewpoints about China and the Chinese that are present in these

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[78] Barber, *The Lands of the Rising Sun*, p. 26.
[79] Castle, *Britannia's Children*, p. 8.
[80] Accounts of China written by missionaries (mostly non-fiction), is one of the major subgenres of children's literature about China that is worth examining in the future. For example, stories about English girls raised in Chinese families published in *Annis Lennoys' Chinese Annual* are worth discussing in relation to issues of gender, class, and race. See Annis Lennoys, 'I Am a Manchu Maid (Complete in Seven Chapters)', *Annis Lennoys' Chinese Annual*, (1898), 1-46, 'True Tales by a Chinese Trader--(2) the Ting Kuan's English Daughter', *Annis Lennoys' Chinese Annual*, (1898), 53-60.

stories should not be dismissed as insignificant exceptions. As Lee Sterrenburg has pointed out, scholars tend to 'acknowledge possible exceptions to hegemonic metropolitan discourse, only to discount those exceptions as infrequent or nonsignificant'.[81] However, he continues, these 'exceptions can be diverse and significant. And they have been there in the archive all along'.[82] My object is to use these texts as examples of the diversity of images of China and a broad spectrum of views on the Chinese, to illustrate the complexity evident in children's texts, and to demonstrate how they underscored the historically complex relationships between Britain and China. This study adds to the current scholarship on nineteenth-century representations of the Chinese by identifying and further elucidating a range of texts that have thus far mostly received little critical discussion. By examining how the genre of children's literature was used not only to transmit existing information about the Chinese but to create knowledge about China, I seek to provide a new context for understanding how China was constructed in the Victorian and Edwardian imagination, shedding new light on British cultural history and the history of children's literature.

I trace the way different discourses on China were developed in children's fiction from the mid-nineteenth century to the early-twentieth century, specifically between the years 1851 and 1911. I choose to examine children's fiction starting in the mid-nineteenth century for two reasons. First, according to Jurgen Osterhammel, it was during the 1850s that 'China formed an integral part of the military, economic, and mental history of European and, in particular, of British imperialism'.[83] Though never a formal colony of Britain (with the exception of Hong Kong), China was part

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[81] Lee Sterrenburg, 'Significant Evidences and the Imperial Archive: Response', *Victorian Studies*, 46.2 (2004), 275-83 (p. 275).
[82] Sterrenburg, 'Significant Evidences', 283.
[83] Osterhammel, 'Britain and China', p. 146.

of its 'informal' Empire. British relations with the Chinese during the second half of the nineteenth century was marked by several conflicts, from the two Opium Wars (1839-42, 1856-60) to the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64) to the Boxer Uprising (1899-1901). It was also during the 1850s that Chinese 'experts' objected to what they perceived to be misrepresentations of China. For example, in 1854, Sir Robert Hart (1835-1911) complained that

> writers in treating of China and the Chinese have in most instances fallen into the error of generalization unsupported by premises. *Exo uno disce omnes* is applicable in many matters: but given one particular Chinese—one particular spot of Chinese ground, from neither of these can one say what ought to be the character and customs in another part of the Empire, or what ought to be the habits of individuals in another Province.[84]

A few years later, Rev. William Milne (1815-1863), who was sent to China in 1839 by the London Missionary Society, condemned the 'revolting' trend in children's textbooks and magazines to 'pamper [the] greed for stories of the cruel and heartless features in heathen nations' which fill children's minds with 'monstrous and hideous notions of their fellow-men'.[85] He attempted to present a more accurate and balanced portrait of China and the Chinese in *Life in China.* Milne's comment links to the second reason why my study begins in the mid-nineteenth century: it was during this period that British children's texts, which were regularly reviewed in prominent literary journals, became, according to Michelle Abate, a 'powerful cultural force' and 'pervasive literary genre'.[86] Publishers, observing the rising literacy rate among the youth of Britain, who formed a significant part of the total

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[84] Robert Hart, *Entering China's Service: Robert Hart's Journals, 1854-1863* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1986), p. 143. Hart was the Inspector General in China's Imperial Maritime Customs Service.

[85] William Milne, *Life in China* (London: Routledge, 1857), p. 47.

[86] See Michelle Ann Abate, 'Introduction: The Baldwin Library Collection of Historical Children's Literature, 1850-1869', <http://microformguides.gale.com/Data/Introductions/32520FM.htm> [accessed 20 September 2008]; Richard Daniel Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 362-65; Lance Salway, "Introduction," in *A Peculiar Gift: Nineteenth Century Writings on Books for Children*, ed. by Lance Salway (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, UK: Kestrel Books, 1976), pp. 17-18 (p. 18).

population, were eager to cater to this section of the reading public.[87] Edward Salmon observed that before 1850, books specifically published for boys and girls 'from ten or twelve to eighteen or twenty years of age' were 'few and far between'.[88] While there were articles on China published in missionary magazines for children before 1851, it was after the Great Exhibition of 1851 that a great deal of information about China began to appear on the children's literature market. I conclude the study at 1911, because it marks the end of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911). To consider the literature on China published after the overthrow of the Manchu government would be going beyond the scope of this thesis, because after the abdication of the Emperor, China was cast into a state of political turmoil with revolutionaries, warlords, and other parties wreaking havoc on the country over a prolonged period of time. More importantly, after the revolution of 1911, the British saw China differently, because it was no longer a monarchy like Britain. As Lilian E. Cox informed her child readers, '[u]ntil that time China had been an empire; New China dates from then'.[89] Because the 'New China' of 1912 marked the end of an epoch, it is therefore a pertinent place to end my study.

Critical Approaches to Children's Literature

To illustrate the importance of the role British children's literature plays in revealing national concerns and attitudes, many historians of children's literature

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[87] Because of higher birth rates, a better standard of living, and more opportunities for education, the literacy rate among the youth of Britain rose considerably during the latter part of the nineteenth century. See Kimberley Reynolds, *Girls Only?: Gender and Popular Children's Fiction in Britain, 1880-1910* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990), pp. 5-27. During the nineteenth century, children under the age of fourteen 'never formed less than one third of the total population': James Walvin, *A Child's World: A Social History of English Childhood, 1800-1914* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Eng.: Penguin, 1982), p. 11. According to Weedon, 'by the beginning of the twentieth century approximately 96 per cent of the 32.5 million inhabitants of England and Wales were able to read': Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market, 1836-1916* (Hants, UK: Ashgate, 2003), p. 33.
[88] Edward Salmon, 'Books for Boys [1888]', (repr. in *A Peculiar Gift: Nineteenth Century Writings on Books for Children*, ed. by Lance Salway (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, UK: Kestrel Books, 1976), pp. 371-86), p. 371.
[89] Lilian Edith Cox, *If I Lived in China* (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1933), p. 35.

quote French academic Paul Hazard's assertion that 'England could be reconstructed entirely from its children's books'.[90] This statement suggests that by examining children's books published in England, one can gain a clear understanding of English culture and society because these books can be seen as a repository of the values that adults hoped to pass on to the young.[91] While one can identify the images of the Chinese and China that the authors wished to transmit to their readers, one cannot claim that the readers accepted these impressions without questioning. Differences in social-economic status, educational level, and gender make it difficult to generalize about the reading practices of children at any given historical moment. Attempts at making generalizations are also hindered by the fact that the number of unrecorded acts of reading far surpasses the amount of available records.[92] Accessing children's reading experiences is particularly difficult because, as Peter Hunt points out, 'children can only rarely usefully articulate their reactions' and recent empirical studies reveal that 'children tend to mediate their ideas to suit the researcher'.[93] Other critics argue that children's reactions to a text are often more unpredictable because of their limited range of reading experiences.[94] Therefore, this thesis does not equate the desire of the authors to inculcate certain images of China and the Chinese with the effect the stories had on the young readers, for to do so

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[90] Paul Hazard, *Books, Children & Men*, trans. by Marguerite Mitchell (Boston: Horn Book, 1944), p. 128. Writing in the 1930s, Hazard asserted that England's children's books taught children to '[l]ove your country, strive to maintain the strength and grandeur of England. Its absolute superiority over all the other nations of the world is indisputable' (141).

[91] See Peter Hollindale, 'Ideology and the Children's Book', in *Literature for Children: Contemporary Criticism*, ed. by Peter Hunt (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 19-40 (p. 30); P. W. Musgrave, *From Brown to Bunter: The Life and Death of the School Story* (London: Routledge, 1985), p. 22; John Stephens, *Language and Ideology in Children's Fiction* (Harlow, Essex, UK: Longman, 1992), p. 238; Karen Sands-O'Connor, 'All There in Black and White: Examining Race and Ethnicity in Children's Literature', in *New Voices in Children's Literature Criticism*, ed. by Sebastien Chapleau (Lichfield, UK: Pied Piper, 2004), pp. 38-46 (p. 38).

[92] Mark R. M. Towsey, '"Patron of Infidelity": Scottish Readers Respond to David Hume, c. 1750–c. 1820', *Book History*, 11 (2008), 89-123 (p. 90).

[93] Peter Hunt, 'Necessary Misreadings: Directions in Narrative Theory for Children's Literature', *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 18.2 (1985), 107-21 (p. 108).

[94] Yulisa Amadu Maddy and Donnarae MacCann, *African Images in Juvenile Literature: Commentaries on Neocolonialist Fiction* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1996), p. 9.

would be committing what Jonathan Rose has termed the 'receptive fallacy' where it is assumed that readers receive the message intended by the author or interpreted by the critic.[95] In other words, this thesis is not a study of reader reception of the texts, although I will discuss how a few readers remember some of the stories examined. Although the message that child readers receive may not be the one intended by the author, childhood reading materials are still worth investigating because, according to Joyce Carol Oates, books we read as children 'seem to soak into the very marrow of our bones and to condition our interpretation of the universe thereafter'.[96]

In 'Missed Opportunities and Critical Malpractice: New Historicism and Children's Literature', Mitzi Myers advocates a New Historicist approach to children's literature which is worth quoting at some length:

> [it would] *integrate* text and socio-historic context, demonstrating on the one hand how extraliterary cultural formations shape literary discourse and on the other how literary practices are actions that make things happen—by shaping the psychic and moral consciousness of young readers but also by performing more diverse kinds of cultural work, from satisfying authorial fantasies to legitimating or subverting dominant class and gender ideologies [...] from popularizing new knowledges and discoveries to addressing live issues like slavery and the condition of the working class. It would want to know how and why a tale or poem came to say what it does, what the environing circumstances were (including the uses a particular sort of children's literature served for this author, its child and adult readers, and its culture), and what kinds of cultural statements and questions the work was responding to. It would pay particular attention to the conceptual and symbolic fault lines denoting a text's time-, place-, gender-, and class-specific ideological mechanisms, being aware that the most seemingly artless and orthodox work may conceal an

[95] Jonathan Rose, 'Rereading the English Common Reader: A Preface to a History of Audiences', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 53.1 (1992), 47-70 (p. 49). Troy Boone criticizes scholars such as Kathryn Castle for equating the '*desire* on the part of publishers, editors, and writers' with the '*effect* of the magazines on their working-class readers' without providing evidence 'for her assertion that the "papers crossed class....boundaries, that working-class youth read the 'improving' annuals when possible"': Troy Boone, *Youth of Darkest England: Working-Class Children at the Heart of Victorian Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 183 (emphasis in the original). Similarly, one could criticize Kutzer for arguing that adult writers of 'classic British children's books' 'pass on' an 'essentially conservative and imperial ideology' to 'child readers' without providing sufficient evidence to support her claim: M. Daphne Kutzer, *Empire's Children: Empire and Imperialism in Classic British Children's Books* (New York: Garland, 2000), p. 138.

[96] Quoted in Betty Greenway, 'The Influence of Childhood Reading', in *Twice-Told Children's Tales: The Influence of Childhood Reading on Writers for Adults*, ed. by Betty Greenway (New York: Routledge 2005), pp. xv-xxvi (p. xv).

> oppositional or contestatory subtext. It would examine a book's material production, its publishing history, its audiences and their reading practices, its initial reception, and its critical history [...][97]

Using Myers's framework, I endeavour to answer questions such as: What function do the stories have in popularizing knowledge of China? What knowledge about China was considered 'useful'? What did the authors think the child audience already know about China? What 'lessons' did the authors want their readers to learn after reading the texts (in terms of their relationship with China, Britain's relations with China, their national identity, etc?) What changes in representations of the Chinese, if any, occurred during this time period? What were the dominant discourses used in the stories? Do certain visions of China become 'fixed' and rearticulated in the texts? If so, what are they? How are significant historical events such as the Taiping Rebellion and the Boxer Uprising portrayed in the texts? As more information about China became available towards the end of the century, how did the children's authors respond to this ever increasing supply of new knowledge?

As Martin Daunton has pointed out, although there were different mechanisms in place for validating knowledge in the Victorian era, it was becoming more and more challenging to prevent outdated information from being continuously transmitted because of the relative easiness for the reproduction of incorrect information and its rapid distribution. Because efficient mechanisms for dispelling pre-existing misconceptions were not necessarily widely available, the danger of transmitting inaccurate information always existed.[98] Was 'outdated' information about China being transmitted to children via these children's texts? To answer this question, I will identify what sources of information on China were available at the time of the author's writing and which ones he/she used. By identifying the

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[97] Mitzi Myers, 'Missed Opportunities and Critical Malpractice: New Historicism and Children's Literature', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, 13.1 (1988), 41-43 (p. 42).
[98] Daunton, 'Introduction', p. 5.

materials these authors drew from the 'imperial archive', to use Thomas Richards's term, one is able partially to reconstruct the authors' reading and provide an answer to the question posed at the beginning of this chapter: who was reading the texts on China and what did they do with this information? Because the authors consulted various sources on China and pulled bits and pieces from these books into their own works, these texts were polyphonic; identifying the sources they used will also explain why these stories were often a site of conflicting or contradictory views on China, thus demonstrating that the generalizations that previous critics have made about children's texts about the Chinese are overly simplistic. Another issue related to identification of sources is the question of 'what authorial voice is speaking?' The line between literature for adults and literature for children is blurred when we take into account the fact that certain passages from adult books on China were frequently copied almost verbatim into these children's texts. Sara Mills reminds critics to regard 'texts not as containing a simple unitary message for which the author is responsible, but rather as a complex negotiation between the author and the discursive frameworks that imperialism constructed and maintained'.[99] The production of knowledge of China for children was a complex one influenced by many factors. Therefore, I will also consider how market trends, generic conventions, gender, and class influenced and shaped these texts.

As Myers advocated, it is important to examine a book's material production and publishing history. Therefore, before giving an overview of the subsequent chapters, I will first trace the development of children's literature in Britain from the eighteenth century to the nineteenth century, focusing on publishing trends and modes of distribution.

[99] Sara Mills, 'Knowledge, Gender, and Empire', in *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*, ed. by Gillian Rose and Alison Blunt (New York: Gulford, 1994), pp. 29-50 (p. 42).

Publishers and Children's Literature

Historians of children's literature generally agree that the eighteenth century is an important watershed in the development of publications for children in Britain. The educational theories of John Locke (1632-1704) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) during this period influenced and shaped adults' attitudes towards children and childhood. Locke emphasized the power of education for children in rearing them to become moral upright citizens. Therefore what they read was extremely important because these children were 'blank slates' in need of being taught the proper way to behave in society.[100] A 'good' book, according to Georgian children's book historian James Pettit Andrews, 'should improve the child's "knowledge and practice of morality and humanity"'.[101] In 1744, John Newbery (1713-1767), a shrewd businessman who was familiar with Locke and Rousseau's ideas and understood children's tastes, published what is considered the first 'true' children's book. The motto of his revolutionary work, *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book*, was '*Delectando monemus*: Instruction with Delight'. The book featured pictures, games, and rhymes. Subsequent books published by Newbery ranged from fiction, such as *Goody Two-Shoes*, to educational texts, such as *The Newtonian System of Philosophy*.[102] By 1800 some six hundred books for children were being published annually in Great Britain.[103] One of the most prominent children's book publishers in the early nineteenth century was John Harris, who took over the Newbery firm in 1801, and offered visually appealing works by Dorothy Kilner and Sarah

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[100] Gillian Avery and Margaret Kinnell, 'Morality and Levity: 1780-1820', in *Children's Literature: An Illustrated History*, ed. by Peter Hunt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 46-76 (p. 54).
[101] Andrea Immel, 'James Pettit Andrews's "Books" (1790), The First Critical Survey of English Children's Literature', *Children's Literature*, 28 (2000), 147-63 (p. 149). Immel argues that Andrews was the first person to provide a critical survey of English children's literature.
[102] For more information on Newbery see Sydney Roscoe, *John Newbery and His Successors, 1740-1814: A Bibliography* (Wormley: Five Owls, 1973).
[103] Margaret Clark, 'Children's Book Publishing in Britain', in *International Companion Encyclopedia of Children's Literature*, ed. by Peter Hunt (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 472-77 (p. 473).

Trimmer.[104]

Many Scottish publishers participated in the children's book trade, the three most influential being James Nisbet, Thomas Nelson, and Blackie & Son. James Nisbet joined London's Evangelical movement in the early nineteenth century. After establishing a Sunday school, Nisbet began selling religious works in 1809, and later published tracts, which he handed out to emigrants and children while also making them available to religious organizations for purchase. In addition, Nisbet donated books to village libraries.[105] Thomas Nelson, also an evangelical, established his firm at Edinburgh in 1798. In the 1840s, Nelson ventured into the London children's book market and soon established a profitable business there after his son invented the first rotary printing machine. In addition to securing contracts with two major children's authors (Charlotte Tucker and R. M. Ballantyne) in the 1860s, the company was quick to identify the needs of the education sector, and soon also

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[104] For more information regarding the firm see Marjorie Moon, *John Harris's Books for Youth, 1801-1843: Being a Check-List of Books for Children and Young People Published for Their Amusement and Instruction by John Harris and His Son, Successors to Elizabeth Newbery, Including a List of Games and Teaching Toys* (Cambridge, UK: Moon, 1976). Dorothy Kilner published didactic, but amusing, stories that children could relate to. Kilner first published anonymously, then as M. P. (Maryland Point, the village where she lived), and finally as Mary Pelham. Her didacticism can be seen in books such as *Dialogues and Letters on Morality, Economy and Politeness* (c. 1783) and *Dialogues on the First Principles of Religion* (c. 1787). *Life and Perambulation of a Mouse* (c. 1790), however, featured animal characters with distinct personalities. See Avery and Kinnell, 'Morality and Levity: 1780-1820', pp. 53-54. Sarah Trimmer opened a large Sunday school in the town of Brentford. She published many Sunday school materials, such as *The Sunday-School Catechist* (1788), *A Comment on Dr. Watt's Divine Songs* (1789), and *A Companion to the Book of Common Prayer* (1791). Her most famous text is *The History of the Robins* (1786), which as originally titled *Fabulous Histories: Designed for the Instruction of Children, Respecting their Treatment of Animals*. In this book, Mrs Benson asks her two children, Fredrick and Harriet, to observe how the adult robins care for their babies. She lectures about obedience and being a supportive family. Many booksellers and publishers of the early nineteenth century offered compiled works. To distinguish his firm from others, John Marshall, Newbery's chief competitor, emphasized the 'originality' of his works. The firm is best noted for publishing Hannah More's 'Cheap Repository Tracts'. An influential author and schoolteacher, Hannah More (1745-1833)'s writing stemmed from her desire to provide appropriate reading materials for her students. More's name is mostly associated with the 'Cheap Repository Tracts' which she started publishing in 1795. Her intention was to provide the working classes with 'healthy' reading so that they would not be exposed to the violence and bawdiness of chapbooks. These tracts were so popular that sales figures reached two million a year. The middle and upper classes favoured these tracts and bought them to give to the poor. The popularity of the tracts led to the founding of the Religious Tract Society in 1799. See Avery and Kinnell, 'Morality and Levity: 1780-1820', p. 48.

[105] J. S. Bratton, *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), pp. 57-59.

specialized in school books.[106] By 1874, their catalogue included categories such as 'illustrated books for nursery reading', 'present and prize books', 'books of example and encouragement for boys', and 'books of travel and adventure for boys'.[107] Although Blackie & Son entered the children's book market after the Education Act of 1870, they promptly established a firm hold on the field after 1882, when they promoted two works by G. A. Henty, *Facing Death* and *Under Drake's Flag*, as reward books. Besides Henty, the firm published the works of G. Manville Fenn, F. S. Brereton, and Percy Westerman.[108] Blackie & Son also catered to girl readers by issuing numerous adventure stories by Bessie Marchant and school stories by Angela Brazil.[109] Routledge, which set up a juvenile department in the 1860s, was also a key publisher of children's books.[110] By the 1870s customers could select from over 1,000 titles, including fairytales, Christian literature, adventure stories, as well as educational texts on science and history.[111]

Different types of books were marketed according to gender. Girl's books included domestic stories or stories about girl's boarding schools. School stories set in public schools such as Eton or Rugby were popular among boys as well. However, the most popular genre was the adventure story, which often featured an average young man, of not outstanding intellect but full of courage, who leaves home to in search of a better future, travels to an exotic land, encounters and overcomes

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[106] Bratton, *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction*, p. 59.
[107] Bratton, *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction*, pp. 134-35.
[108] George Alfred Henty (1832-1902) was a war correspondent before becoming a popular boy's writer. George Manville Fenn (1831-1909) was a friend and biographer of Henty and also a very prolific writer.
[109] See Chapter Five for more discussion on Henty. For more information on Blackie & Son, see Agnes Anna Coventry Blackie, *Blackie & Son 1809-1959: A Short History of the Firm* (London: Blackie & Son, 1959).
[110] Captain Frederick Marryat, Anne Bowman, Mayne Reid, R. M. Ballantyne, and G. Manville Fenn all had books published by Routledge.
[111] Other nineteenth century children's publishers and booksellers include William Darton, Cassell, Ward Lock, Macmillan, Tabart, and the Godwins. See Brian Alderson and Felix De Marez Oyens, *Be Merry and Wise: Origins of Children's Book Publishing in England, 1650-1850* (London: British Library, 2006).

difficulties, and returns home with monetary rewards or a title.[112] Popular authors, such as G. A. Henty, R. M. Ballantyne, W. H. G. Kingston, George Manville Fenn, and Gordon Stables, made sure that the incidents were a mixture of probable and extraordinary.[113] By the 1890s, the number of publishing houses specializing in boys' adventure books increased significantly in response to the 'incessant demand' for these stories.[114]

Distribution of Children's Books

How did stories about China reach the hands of children? Victorian and Edwardian children accessed books through five main channels: the family, the school, the church, the library, and the bookstall. Every year, as the Christmas season approached, there was inevitably a surge in the volume of children's books published. Wealthy families of the 1820s and 30s contributed to the exploding demand for Christmas gift-books, which were often issued in the form of 'keepsakes' or 'parlour albums'.[115] Despite the higher retail price, these books sold

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[112] According to Eric Quayle, 'boys' books' specifically targeted at a teenage audience first appeared in the 1840s, and the early 1850s marked the beginning of a 'lucrative market' for writers, especially those who failed in the three-decker novel, to churn out novels and adventure stories for adolescents: Eric Quayle, *The Collector's Book of Boys' Stories* (London: Studio Vista, 1973), p. 65.

[113] Julia Briggs and Dennis Butts, 'The Emergence of Form: 1850-1890', in *Children's Literature: An Illustrated History*, ed. by Peter Hunt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 130-65 (p. 150). Born in Edinburgh, Robert Michael Ballantyne (1825-1894), known as 'Ballantyne the Brave', began publishing books for children when he was about thirty years old. His memories of working for the Hudson's Bay Company in Canada, travelling in Norway, and journeying through Africa provided ample material for his eighty books, the first of which was *The Young Fur-Traders* (1856). For discussion of Ballantyne's attitude towards race and message of Empire see Stuart Hannabuss, 'Ballantyne's Message of Empire', in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, ed. by Jeffrey Richards (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 53-71; Christopher Parker, 'Race and Empire in the Stories of R. M. Ballantyne', in *Literature and Imperialism*, ed. by Robert Giddings (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), pp. 44-63; Eric Quayle, *Ballantyne the Brave; a Victorian Writer and His Family* (London: Hart-Davis, 1967). *The Young Fur-Traders* has been discussed in R. S. Phillips, 'Space for Boyish Men and Manly Boys: The Canadian Northwest in Robert Ballantyne's Adventure Stories', *Essays on Canadian Writing*, 59 (1996), 46-64. William Henry Giles Kingston (1814-1880) wrote more than one hundred books for boys. His tone is more didactic than Ballantyne's, and his stories often focus on missionary heroes converting 'heathen savages' in exotic lands. Gordon Stables (1840-1910) was a Scottish naval surgeon who began to write boys' stories after being invalided out of the service in the 1870s. He was a regular contributor to the *Boy's Own Paper*.

[114] Some novelists, though paid less than 100 pounds a book, were producing up to four full-length adventure stories per year. See Quayle, *The Collector's Book of Boys' Stories*, p. 135.

[115] In one season, 1828, it was estimated that 100,000 copies were produced, at a retail value of over 70,000 pounds. See Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p. 362.

well because of their lavish illustrations and handsome bindings.

Many scholars have documented the importance of the Christmas season for the periodical and book trade from the 1860s onwards.[116] Grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives who struggled to find the ideal gift for children could rely on the numerous Christmas book recommendations in newspapers, periodicals, and advertisements to guide them in their choices. Some publishers took out full-page advertisements in various journals to increase visibility. For example, *The Wolf Boy of China* was featured in a full-page advertisement in the 1 December 1857 issue of the *Publishers' Circular*. In addition to a large illustration from the book, the advertisement includes a quote from a review in *Dispatch*, which alludes to the Christmas season when it predicts that 'many a curly-pated knot of boys, huddled together by the fireside on many a weary winter's night, will beguile the time with these interesting pages'. Another quote is from an *Athenaeum* reviewer who recommends the book as a 'choice present for the class of juvenile readers to whom it is dedicated'.[117]

The editor and author J. A. Hammerton (1871-1949) remembered being more excited about 'a beautiful colour-book on Chinese life' given to him by his great-aunt for Christmas than his first prize-book.[118] Although Hammerton does not mention the name of the book, it may have resembled C. E. Eden's *China: Historical and Descriptive* (1877) because the latter was described as 'a prettily illustrated and most readable account of the Flowery Empire' by a *Saturday Review*

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[116] See for example, Weedon, *Victorian Publishing*; Altick, *The English Common Reader*; Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends*.
[117] 'A New Book for Boys', *Publishers' Circular*, XX.485 (1857), 536.
[118] John Hammerton, *Books and Myself: Memoirs of an Editor* (London: Macdonald, 1944), p. 14. Hammerton was the editor and author of reference works, most notably *Harmsworth's Universal Encyclopaedia*. He also contributed to *Punch* and wrote biographies of Arthur Mee and J. M. Barrie. See Bridget Hadaway, 'Hammerton, Sir John Alexander (1871-1949)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37505> [accessed 26 September 2007].

Christmas books reviewer.[119] Hammerton also notes in his memoir how prize books influenced children. He recalls rereading *The Land of the Nile or Egypt Past and Present,* which was presented to him on 28 June 1883 and written by 'that literary lord of Grub Street (he was reputed to earn a thousand a year then) William Henry Davenport Adams', who had contributed many books to Nelson's list of reward books.[120] As many historians have pointed out, the children's book market changed as literacy rates rose. There was a significant increase in the number of 'reward books' published after 1870, after the passing of Forster's Education Act. The Act allowed for the establishment of board schools and authorized school boards to make attendance compulsory. By 1880, there were over one million new places in schools either set up by the Church or under the direction of School Boards. By 1900 the London School Board alone had opened 481 schools.[121] Observing this phenomenon, publishers took this opportunity to market new forms of literature to the children of Britain. With the rise in school enrolment, major firms established various reward series (such as 'The Laurel' and 'The Royal') for use in Victorian schools. The market became much more competitive with the entry of many new publishers and writers eager to profit from the demand for school prizes. Books needed to have an immediate appeal and book covers became much more important now that a plethora of texts vied to be taken down from bookshelves. Publishers experimented with different formats, trying to design the most attractive and lucrative products that combined instruction with amusement: entertaining enough for the children but boasting 'educational value' (teaching facts and morals) to

[119] 'Christmas Books', *Saturday Review*, 29 December 1877, p. 821.
[120] Hammerton, *Books and Myself*, p. 23.
[121] See Jack Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!: The Story of the Boy's Own Paper* (Guildford, UK: Lutterworth, 1982).

convince adults that these books would be suitable rewards.[122] However, because prospective buyers were not easily persuaded into buying non-conventional books, it was very difficult for a book to become a bestseller. Once a book reached a certain level of popularity, many 'imitations' followed.[123] Many prize books often originated in popular serial stories. Observing a story's positive reception, authors would often add some details or subplots to it and reissue the revised version in book form in time for the Christmas season.

According to Bratton, the Reward trade had become so lucrative that publishers fervently tried different methods to attract customers. For example, Benjamin L. Green, who published a series of Sunday school books, proposed to satisfy all the customer's needs 'expeditiously, cheaply and safely'.[124] Other publishers, such as Thomas Tegg, profited by publishing cheap editions at the expense of authors. Tegg's notoriety rose when he used the famous American series 'Peter Parley' to brand his own children's books without permission from their creator Samuel Goodrich.[125] Familiar names on the prize lists include Daniel Defoe, Captain Marryat, Hesba Stretton, and Mrs Molesworth.[126] Some lesser-known

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[122] Marketing techniques include placing the author's qualifications on the title page and incorporating quotes from favourable reviews, letters to publishers, or personal testimonies. A series might be 'branded' with the publisher's or the editor's name to signify quality assurance. Blackie & Son issued children's classics by Fenimore Cooper, Marryat, Ballantyne, and Alcott under the series called *Blackie's School and Home Library* (later *Blackie's Library of Famous Books*). Cassell had 'Cassell's International Novels', J. B. Lippincott issued the 'Dalton Library of Adventure', and Warne offered an 'Incident and Adventure Library'. See Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p. 11; Blackie, *Blackie & Son 1809-1959*, pp. 43-44; Weedon, *Victorian Publishing*, pp. 100; 119. Publishers might employ more subtle marketing strategies such as 'subliminal advertising', where the main text of the story would contain references to other books in their catalogue. Another method used to boost sales was known as 'cross-selling', in which buyers were given free tickets to museums or exhibits with the purchase of certain books. See Alderson and Oyens, *Be Merry and Wise*, pp. 262-65. For other marketing strategies, see Lorinda B. Cohoon, *Serialized Citizenships: Periodicals, Books, and American Boys, 1840-1911* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2006).

[123] Bratton, *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction*, p. 102.

[124] Bratton, *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction*, p. 60.

[125] For more information on the use of 'Peter Parley' in England, see F. J. Harvey Darton, *Children's Books in England: Five Centuries of Social Life*, 3rd edn (London: British Library, 1999).

[126] Hesba Stretton (Sarah Smith) (1832-1911) is most famous for *Jessica's First Prayer* (1866), a bestseller which was translated into fifteen languages and eventually sold over two million copies in Stretton's lifetime. With the success of the book, Stretton began a long career with the Religious

writers were regarded as specialist 'reward authors' who churned out 'modest tales for modest recompense from the religious societies and the Sunday School Unions'.[127]

Charlotte Yonge, a best-selling author of over 250 books, recommended that 'improving books' be used as prizes because, while books in the lending library are read and passed on, prize books are kept at home, may be exhibited to relatives and friends, and even passed own to the next generation.[128] Most importantly, they had the potential to be read and reread many times, especially when a child is sick. Therefore, she argued, these books should have 'worthiness', which she equated with 'religious, improving, or at least standard fiction'.[129] For example, because 'the use of maps and the reading lessons at school make scenes in different countries interesting', books 'giving pictures of costumes [...]' would be most suited to be reward books. In addition, the level of the book should 'go beyond its present level of taste or capacity'.[130]

For those children whose families could not afford books like the ones Hammerton received, Sunday schools provided a rich repository of information on China. *Some Chinese Waifs* and *The Boy with a Borrowed Name* were among the various Sunday school leaflets published religious organizations such as the Society

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Tract Society and published other bestselling books such as *Little Meg's Children* (1868) and *Alone in London* (1869). Another leading writer of the time was Mary Louisa Molesworth (1839-1921), who wrote more than one hundred books over her career, sometimes producing as many as seven a year.

[127] Brian Alderson, 'Tracts, Rewards and Fairies: The Victorian Contribution to Children's Literature', in *Essays in the History of Publishing in Celebration of the 250th Anniversary of the House of Longman, 1724-1974*, ed. by Asa Briggs, (London: Longman, 1974), pp. 245-82 (p. 275).

[128] Charlotte Yonge (1823-1901) received an 'Edgeworthian' education from her mother and learned classics and mathematics from her father. Famous books by her include *The Heir of Redclyffe* (1853), *The Little Duke* (1854), *The Daisy Chain* (1856), *The Stokesley Secret* (1861) and *Countess Kate* (1862). Her heroes and heroines almost always turn out to be religious, self-sacrificing, virtuous, and obedient characters. In addition to her family stories and historical novels, Yonge also edited *The Monthly Packet* magazine for forty years.

[129] Charlotte Yonge, *What Books to Lend and What to Give* (London: National Society's Depository, 1887), p. 11. She compiled a list of 955 recommended titles in this book.

[130] Yonge, *What Books to Lend*, p. 11.

for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and the Religious Tract Society (RTS) and distributed in Sunday schools.[131] Children may also have pulled books such as *Peeps into China*, *The Children of China*, *The Chinese Boy and Girl*, and *The Land of the Pigtail* off the shelves of Sunday school libraries, or received them as rewards.[132] By rehearsing for religious plays such as 'Queen Lexa's Chinese Meeting: A Missionary Recitation for Eight Girls and Three Boys' or 'Busy Bees: A Missionary Dialogue in Three Scenes', children also had the opportunity to familiarize themselves with China. They might also have been educated through musical performances such as 'Missionary Cantata: Every-day Life in China'.[133] Children interested in China could satisfy their curiosity by reading the *CMS Juvenile Instructor* or London Missionary Society's *Juvenile Missionary Magazine*, which frequently carried articles on China, with titles ranging from 'Chinese Children' to 'A Chinese Funeral'.[134] They could also gain information from the

[131] Mary Isabella Bryson, *Some Chinese Waifs*, 2nd edn (London: London Missionary Society, 1902); John Parker, *The Boy with a Borrowed Name* (London: London Missionary Society, 1902). The SPCK, founded in 1698, published textbooks and offered a long list of non-fiction works with titles such as *Natural History of Quadrupeds* that were marketed as presents and prizes. It had developed an efficient procedure for producing children's reading materials by 1840. New titles were approved nearly every week and a few months later, the books were available to the reading public. Although established later than the SPCK, the Religious Tract Society, founded in 1799 by Reverend George Burder and Dr David Bogue, gained greater reputation because of two popular magazines, the *Boy's Own Paper* (1879-1967) and the *Girl's Own Paper* (1880-1956). During the early years, they published pamphlets, tracts, sermons, commentaries, books, and periodicals for adults. In 1803, an investigation of the children's literature industry revealed the significant lack of suitable literature for children. Eager to remedy the situation, the Society decided to devote their efforts to providing 'good literature' for children. From 1814 onwards, the Society steadily published children's texts. To ensure that their publications reached a wide audience, the Religious Tract Society offered different formats and binding styles of the same text at varying prices, making them accessible to children from National schools, private academies, and Sunday schools. See Bratton, *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction*, pp. 48; 63; Alderson, 'Tracts, Rewards and Fairies', p. 275.

[132] E. C. Phillips, *Peeps into China; or, the Missionary's Children* (London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin, [1882?]); Charles Laplante, *The Children of China: Written for the Children of England* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1884); Isaac Taylor Headland, *The Chinese Boy and Girl* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1901); Benjamin Clarke, *The Land of the Pigtail, its People and Customs, from a Boy's Point of View* (London: Sunday School Union, [1875]).

[133] Elsie Jeanette Oxenham, *Queen Lexa's Chinese Meeting: A Missionary Recitation for Eight Girls and Three Boys* (London: London Missionary Society, 1908); *Busy Bees: A Missionary Dialogue in Three Scenes* (London: London Missionary Society, 1902); Charles W. Budden, *Missionary Cantata: Every-Day Life in China* (London: London Missionary Society, 1900).

[134] Other titles include 'Chinese Inns', 'Schools in China', 'Fire Wells in China', 'Chinese Proverbs', 'Chinese Language', and 'A Peep at a Chinese Family'.

Religious Tract Society's numerous periodicals, such as the *Boy's Own Paper*, *Girl's Own Paper*, *Child's Companion and Juvenile Instructor*, *Leisure Hour*, *Sunday at Home*, and *Child's Paper*.

In addition to the church library which provided children with materials on China, other types of libraries offered texts about the Chinese: the circulating library, the school library, and the public library. The most successful circulating library was Mudie's, but only wealthier parents were able to select books from this library for their children.[135] For those that could not afford to subscribe to Mudie's, James Nisbet's 'Select Theological Circulating Library', which consisted of theological works, travel books, history books, poetry, and children's fiction, offered an alternative. In 1832, he charged 'two guineas per annum for a borrower taking four volumes in town or eight in the country'.[136] Families could also subscribe to the Religious Tract Society's circulating libraries for 12 pounds, 8s. 6d. which included 169 books and the option of a lockable case for 18s.[137]

Although influential critics such as Charlotte Yonge pointed out the importance of school libraries, the number of school libraries was quite small in the nineteenth century. Over half of the schools were still lacking library facilities at the end of the period.[138] In *What Books to Lend and What to Give* (1887), Yonge suggests that libraries be filled with 'wholesome adventure' stories and tales of 'high romance or pure pathos' so that children will stop reading penny dreadfuls and not be tempted to stay outside after dark. In her opinion, the number of 'recreational

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[135] For more information on Mudie's, see Guinevere L. Griest, *Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970).

[136] Bratton, *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction*, p. 58.

[137] Judith St. John, 'The Publishing of Children's Books in Victoria's Day', in *Book Selling and Book Buying: Aspects of the Nineteenth-Century British and North American Book Trade*, ed. by Richard G. Landon (Chicago: American Library Association, 1978), pp. 17-33 (p. 18).

[138] At the end of the nineteenth century, sixty percent of schools did not have libraries. See Alec Ellis, 'Influences on the Availability of Recreational Reading for Victorian Working Class Children', *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science*, 8.3 (1976), 185-95 (p. 193).

books' should be larger than 'improving tales' because most books in the latter category 'stand still on their shelves with clean pages'.[139] Similarly, historian Richard Altick observes that the amount of fiction available in libraries influenced the number of patrons it had and that 'by the 1890's most free libraries reported that between 65 per cent and 90 per cent of the books circulated were classified as fiction'.[140]

Not only did the Education Act of 1870 influence the school 'reward' trade, it also stimulated the growth of public libraries, because prior to the passing of the Act, only fifty districts had public libraries, whereas in 1898 the number had increased to 340. By July 1900 there were 401 districts with public libraries.[141] However, not all of the libraries offered children's books. For example, in 1891, approximately forty libraries possessed children's collections. By 1898 the number had risen to 108. There were certain restrictions for children regarding the use of library facilities. For example, children under the age of twelve were normally not allowed to access the libraries, because many institutions had a minimum age limit ranging from twelve to sixteen years. Moreover, some libraries prohibited girls from using the collections. These libraries were usually closed-stack, which meant that children could only rely on catalogue descriptions when choosing books. Fiction titles were arranged in alphabetical order by author, while non-fiction works were catalogued by author and subject.[142]

Despite the increase in public library services throughout the years, many thousands of children still had no library facilities at all. If there was no public library available in their area, children may have been able to access books

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[139] Yonge, *What Books to Lend*, pp. 5-6; 88.
[140] Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p. 231.
[141] See Alec Ellis, 'Public Libraries for Children During the Nineteenth Century', *The Library Association Record*, 69 (1967), 230-35.
[142] See Ellis, 'Public Libraries for Children', 230-35.

distributed by the Religious Tract Society (RTS), who offered to supply approximately one hundred volumes of books for libraries to be set up in churches, chapels, and schools across Great Britain and Ireland. By 1849, between five thousand and six thousand libraries had benefited from the help of the RTS.[143]

Another form of distribution was the bookstall. As the British railway system expanded, more and more bookstalls and newsstands greeted travellers in the train stations of Great Britain, providing readers with convenient access to a wide variety of reading materials. For most working-class families, books such as *The Wolf Boy of China*, priced at five shillings, were beyond their reach due to their limited disposable income.[144] According to journalist Edward Salmon (1865-1955), in 1890, 'Boys' books are sold first at four or five shillings. The well-to-do buy them, but if they are ever so good, the poorer lads have no chance of sharing in the benefits to be derived from their perusal'.[145] Prices for children's periodicals, on the other hand, could be as low as one penny, and there was a large selection to choose from, ranging from the respectable *Boy's Own Paper* to the controversial 'penny dreadfuls', which, though labelled pernicious, were circulated by 'tens of thousands week by week amongst lads'.[146] Approximately 307 commercial British boy's magazines competed on the market between the years of 1880 and 1918.[147] According to Dennis Denisoff, 'by the mid-nineteenth century the British were well

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[143] Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p. 219.

[144] Book prices were lowered after the 1860s because of a variety of factors, including the invention of the Hoe cylinder press, cardboard book covers, and inexpensive pulp paper. See Peter Hunt, *An Introduction to Children's Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 60. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, cheaper books were issued which might have allowed working class children the opportunity to access books such as *The Wolf Boy of China*, but those in rural areas were offered few resources and could only rely on itinerant traders. See Ellis, 'Influences on the Availability of Recreational Reading', 193.

[145] Edward Salmon, 'Should Children Have a Special Literature? [1890]', (repr. in *A Peculiar Gift: Nineteenth Century Writings on Books for Children*, ed. by Lance Salway (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, UK: Kestrel Books, 1976), pp. 332-39 (p. 335).

[146] See Francis Hitchman, 'Penny Fiction', *Quarterly Review*, 171 (1890), 150-71.

[147] Kirsten Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines, 1751-1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 123.

aware that the young, despite lacking actual money, played a crucial role in the production, consumption, and distribution of consumerism'.[148] Children were able to select and purchase cheap penny papers and would often share the periodicals among friends. For example, etcher and painter James McBey (1883-1959), who grew up in a small Scottish town, remembers that whoever had money to spare would buy copies of the *Boy's Own Paper* and everyone would take turns reading the contents. He recalled reading and rereading in the 1890s a series of articles called 'A Plain Guide to Oil Painting'. They gave him hope that it would be possible to earn a living by painting.[149] Noel Coward also loved the *Boy's Own Paper*, which he 'read avidly week by week' in addition to *Chums*, *The Magnet*, and *The Gem*.[150]

This thesis looks at the representation of China and the Chinese across a range of different genres and types of publication prepared for children of this period—travelogue storybooks, historical novels, adventures stories, and periodicals. I regard these texts as hybrid commodities because not only are they generically a mixture of fact and fiction, but they often combine conventions of the adventure story genre, travel writing, evangelical writing, and historical fiction. Many of these texts also deal with hybrid identities. Common themes and issues addressed include miscegenation, the relationship between language and identity, the notion of 'passing', and the use of disguise in relation to performing 'Chineseness'.[151] The texts discussed were chosen because their authors were popular prolific writers of

[148] Denisoff, 'Small Change', p. 6.

[149] James McBey, *The Early Life of James McBey: An Autobiography, 1883-1911* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 17-18.

[150] Noel Coward, *Autobiography: Consisting of Present Indicative, Future Indefinite and the Uncompleted Past Conditional* (London: Methuen, 1986), p. 12.

[151] According to Chang, 'Passing, as we now understand it, details the practices of a subject, whole, though "really" representing a group marked out or separated--by law, by gender, by race, by physical or social condition, or by some combination of those--from a group established as dominant by those same criteria, manages to "pass" (intentionally or unintentionally) as part of the dominant group': Elizabeth Hope Chang, 'Converting Chinese Eyes: Rev. W. H. Medhurst, "Passing," and the Victorian Vision of China', in *A Century of Travels in China: Critical Essays on Travel Writing from the 1840s to the 1940s*, ed. by Douglas Kerr and Julia Kuehn (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007), pp. 27-38 (p. 30).

children's literature and most were positively received by contemporary critics. This body of texts on China is worth examining for three reasons. First, they provide examples of how Sino-British relations were influential in the representation of China in children's literature and they also illustrate how Britain's relationship with China was interpreted for children. Secondly, they complicate the notion that nineteenth-century children's literature simply parroted the dominant ideologies of the age. In fact, I suggest that children's literature was a less restrictive genre that allowed authors to explore contentious issues such as mixed-race identity and miscegenation, as well as complex ideas of nineteenth-century racial science. Thirdly, these texts exemplify how authors responded to the nineteenth-century 'knowledge explosion' and offer insights into how attitudes towards children's relationships with knowledge changed over the course of the century.

To trace the changes in attitudes toward China and consider the historical context out of which such images emerged, these texts will be considered chronologically. The next chapter discusses the works of two writers who published travelogue stories in the 1850s, Anne Bowman and William Dalton. Bowman was known for her boy's adventure stories, and I first consider the two which mention China: *The Boy Voyagers* (1859), in which Bowman's characters travel to places such as India, Japan and China, and *The Adventures of Rolando in Mesopotamia, Persia, Siberia, Kamschatka, China & Thibet* (1853), which was the sequel to the French writer Louis Francois Jauffret's *Travels of Rolando* (English translation, 1804). Then I focus on Dalton's *The Wolf Boy of China; or, Incidents and Adventures in the Life of Lyu-Payo* (1857) and its sequel *The Wasps of the Ocean; or, Little Waif and the Pirate of the Eastern Seas: A Romance of Travel and Adventure in China and Siam* (1864). Both Bowman and Dalton's books are filled with a great deal of information about China, largely derived from notable eighteenth and

nineteenth century texts. This chapter situates Bowman and Dalton's works in the mid-Victorian 'spirit of encyclopaedism', the trend of exhibitions, the emergence of 'racial science', and the 'opening' of China. In addition to examining how the representation of China and the Chinese in these novels was influenced by these contemporary trends, this chapter comments on race relations and attitudes to miscegenation and mixed-race children.

Chapter Three focuses on the depiction of the Chinese in Edwin Harcourt Burrage's Ching-Ching series, which were first serialized in *The Boy's Standard* (1875-92), and later featured in their own magazine called *Ching Ching's Own* (1888-93). Originally described as a 'minor personage' by his creator, Ching-Ching first appeared as a supporting comic relief character in 'Handsome Harry of the Fighting Belvedere' (1876). His popularity soon came to surpass that of Handsome Harry, the typical adventure-story hero. Modelled on a Chinese man who passed out tea advertisements on Fleet Street, Ching-Ching is possibly the only Chinese main character in children's fiction of the time. In addition to examining the possible reasons for Ching-Ching's popularity in terms of readership and marketing techniques, this chapter traces Ching-Ching's transformation from a trickster figure to that of detective and discusses the implications of this representation. I also comment on issues of interracial marriage, cross-cultural friendships, and other subjects in these texts.

Chapter Four examines fictionalized accounts of the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64). The key text is *Among Hostile Hordes: A Story of the Tai-ping Rebellion* (1901), by Bessie Marchant (1862-1941). Often dubbed as 'the girls' Henty', Marchant published over one hundred novels and enjoyed popularity and success throughout her career. Although she never left Britain, her characters experienced exciting adventures in all parts of the world, such as China, India, Canada, Borneo, Persia,

South America, and Russia. Marchant's novel is discussed in comparison with Samuel Mossman's *The Mandarin's Daughter: A Story of the Great Taiping Rebellion, and Gordon's "Ever-Victorious Army"* and other magazine stories that feature the Taiping Rebellion such as 'A River of Fire: A Tale of Youthful Folly and Chinese Perfidy' and 'The Death Feud: A Story of Chinese Vengeance'. In *Among Hostile Hordes*, Marchant depicts the lives and concerns of three major categories of Westerners in China: merchants, missionaries, and military men. Although ostensibly about the Taiping Rebellion, I argue that *Among Hostile Hordes* is essentially a Boxer narrative.

Chapter Five focuses on stories about the Boxer Uprising (1899-1901), especially G. A. Henty's *With the Allies to Pekin* (1903) and Charles Gilson's *The Lost Column* (1909). Looking at these works, as well as comparing them with the short stories in popular children's periodicals that focus on the Boxer Uprising, I discuss how the British interpreted these contentious events for children. I illustrate how Boxer narratives published between 1900 and 1909 provided different interpretations of the same event and argue that the Boxer Uprising was a pivotal conflict from which negative images of the Chinese and fears of the yellow peril emanated.

As Old Humphrey informed readers in 1844, after the 'opening of China' as a result of the Opium War, there was hope that 'useful knowledge may spread through the Celestial Empire'.[152] For the characters in Anne Bowman's *The Travels of Rolando*, which will be discussed in the next chapter, spreading knowledge of the British Empire and British values in China was one of their objectives, but more importantly, they wished to acquire new knowledge of China itself, ultimately disseminating this to eager child readers.

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[152] Old Humphrey, *The Celestial Empire*, p. 88.

Chapter Two

Exploring the Celestial Kingdom: William Dalton and Anne Bowman's Vision of China

> We hazard nothing in asserting, that there are at this moment, in our own incomparable island, thousands and tens of thousands of boys—ay, and of girls, too—who are in possession of more available knowledge than ever were any of their grandparents [...]
> –Cecil Hartley, Preface to *The Travels of Rolando* (1852)[1]

In 1852, Cecil Hartley, editor of the 'corrected and improved' edition of *The Travels of Rolando*, declared the adage 'there is no royal road to the acquisition of knowledge' was no longer accurate. The Victorian child was in a very different position from his or her parents and grandparents because of the 'knowledge explosion'. Hartley explains that due to 'improved' methods of instruction which have been adopted 'within the last twenty or thirty years', 'every art and every science may now be acquired in less than half the time, and with less than half the labour, that were formerly exacted [...]'.[2] One of the 'improved methods of instruction' that he referred to was the use of fictional '*personal adventure*' to introduce readers to different countries.[3] As the subtitle of *The Travels of Rolando: Containing, in a Supposed Tour around the World, Authentic Descriptions of the Geography, Natural History, Manners, and Antiquities of Various Countries* emphasizes, although the tour itself is 'supposed', the descriptions of the world are 'authentic'. This kind of fictional travel narrative, also known as the travelogue

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[1] Cecil Hartley, ed., *Travels of Rolando; or, a Tour Round the World*, trans. by Lucy Aikin, rev. edn (New York: Francis, 1852), p. iv.

[2] Hartley, ed., *Travels of Rolando*, p. iii.

[3] Hartley, ed., *Travels of Rolando*, p. iv (emphasis in the original). Not everyone agreed that this method of using fiction to introduce children to different countries was the best. For example, Richard Edgeworth in the preface 'Address to Mothers' in his daughter Maria's novel *Frank* recommended *The Travels of Rolando* with 'hesitation' because 'though it contains much knowledge, collected from various authors, yet it is too much mixed with fiction': R. L. E., 'Address to Mothers', in *Frank*, Maria Edgeworth, 2 vols (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1842), I, pp. 1-19 (p. 11).

storybook, was a popular genre utilized by nineteenth-century authors to facilitate the 'acquisition of knowledge' among children.

Virginia Haviland points out that travelogues for children were extremely popular in both the United States and England in the 1840s and 50s. Two of the most successful travelogue series were Samuel Griswold Goodrich's *Tales of Peter Parley* (1827-60) and Jacob Abbot's *Rollo Holiday* series (1832-79), which featured many journeys to distant places, including China.[4] Prior to the 1840s, China was one of the stops in Patricia Wakefield's *The Traveller in Asia or, a Visit to the East Indies and China* (1817), Mrs Jamieson's *Popular Voyages and Travels, Throughout the Continents and Islands of Asia, Africa, and America* (1820), Isaac Taylor's *Scenes in Asia: For the Amusement and Instruction of Little Tarry-at-Home Travellers* (1821), and *The Young Traveller, or, a Brief Sketch of All Nations* (1830).[5] These fictional travel narratives offered authors a convenient way to introduce information about various countries to children because plot twists could be utilized to expatiate on the history, geography, and customs of each place visited by the protagonist.[6]

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[4] Both educational series sold at least a million copies. See Virginia Haviland, *The Travelogue Storybook of the Nineteenth Century* (Boston: Horn Book, 1950), pp. 7-8. One of the books in the Peter Parley series focused on China. See Samuel G. Goodrich, *Peter Parley's Tales About China and the Chinese* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1843). For more information on the Rollo Holiday series, see Deidre Johnson, 'From Abbott to Animorphs, from Godly Books to Goosebumps: The Nineteenth-Century Origins of Modern Series', in *Scorned Literature: Essays on the History and Criticism of Popular Mass-Produced Fiction in America*, ed. by Lydia Cushman Schurman and Deidre Johnson (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2002), pp. 147-65 (pp. 148-50).

[5] Priscilla Wakefield, *The Traveller in Asia, or, a Visit to the East Indies and China, with an Account of the Manners of the Inhabitants, Natural Productions, and Curiosities: For the Instruction and Entertainment of Young Persons* (London: Darton, Harvey, and Darton, 1817). For more information on Wakefield, see Bridget Hill, 'Priscilla Wakefield as a Writer of Children's Educational Books', *Women's Writing*, 4.1 (1997), 3-15. For discussion on her *Juvenile Traveller* series, see Theresa A. Dougal, 'Teaching Conduct or Telling a New Tale? Priscilla Wakefield and the Juvenile Travellers', in *Eighteenth-Century Women*, ed. by Linda Troost (New York: AMS Press, 2001), I, pp. 299-319; Mrs Jamieson, *Popular Voyages and Travels, Throughout the Continents and Islands of Asia, Africa, and America: In Which the Geography, the Characters, and the Manners of Nations are Described; and the Phenomena of Nature, Most Worthy of Observation, are Illustrated on Scientific Principles* (London: Whittaker, 1820), pp. 246-62; Isaac Taylor, *Scenes in Asia: For the Amusement and Instruction of Little Tarry-at-Home Travellers* (London: Harris and Son, 1821); *The Young Traveller, or, a Brief Sketch of All Nations* (London: Darton and Son, 1830).

[6] These texts fall outside the purview of this thesis but would be interesting material for future research.

Cecil Hartley's revised edition of *The Travels of Rolando* was published a year after the Great Exhibition of 1851, and in that respect, his confidence in the methods of acquiring knowledge can be said to be influenced by the 'spirit of encyclopaedism', which, according to the German newspaper *Allgemeine Zeitung*, was felt during the Great Exhibition.[7] Alan Rauch has characterized the 'encyclopaedic spirit' as being grounded in

> some common ideas: first, that it is indeed possible to classify the world, at least in discrete parts; second, that an adequate re-creation of that world can be contained within a book or a series of books; and, third, that it is possible to present all facets of the world in a way that is accessible to the public. And, while these criteria cannot be taken as absolutes, they reflect the sense of orderliness that remains an implicit justification for the organized accumulation of knowledge into texts.[8]

To coincide with the Great Exhibition of 1851, a board game called 'The Royal Game of the Gathering Nations: Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations' was produced by John Betts. The game is a good example of the encyclopaedic spirit because it attempted to classify and contain the world on a board and make information about countries such as China accessible the public. The object of the game, which consisted of thirty-five squares, was to be the first to land on the last one, 'The Crystal Palace'. Each square was associated with an accompanying description and someone was to read it aloud when a player landed on that particular square. Square 13, China, was described thus:

> China is an empire on the east of Asia, possessing a soil of more than common fertility, producing the choicest of fruits, flowering shrubs, medicinal plants, and trees peculiar to itself. Amongst the first-named, may be mentioned, the orange, lemon, citron, and pomegranate; and amongst the last, the tea tree, the leaves of which form so important an article of commerce with, this and many other countries. The birds of China are also very beautiful. Its magnificent rivers are crowded with small boats and vessels, employed for all manner of purposes, and many of them forming the only habitation of their owners; and the banks

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[7] Raymond Corbey, 'Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930', *Cultural Anthropology*, 8.3 (1993), 338-69 (p. 340).
[8] Alan Rauch, *Useful Knowledge: The Victorians, Morality, and the March of Intellect* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), p. 34.

> crowned with pagodas and temples, give a very picturesque effect to the landscape. China contributed a variety of elaborate ivory and wood carvings to the Great Exhibition; it also sent samples of tea, revolving lanterns, gongs, & c & c.[9]

This game combined instruction with amusement, just as Anne Bowman and William Dalton attempted to do in their novels. This chapter is concerned with how Bowman, author of the sequel to *The Travels of Rolando*, and Dalton, author of *The Wolf Boy of China*, popularized and legitimized knowledge about China through their travelogue adventure stories published in the 1850s.

Scholars have argued that in the late-eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century, many British and American writers, such as George Anson, John Barrow, and Charles Dickens, presented negative views of the Chinese as child-like, cruel, corrupt, conceited, dirty, dishonest, ignorant, xenophobic, afraid to lose face, and prone to gambling.[10] China was frequently characterized as a 'peculiar' nation that had become unprogressive and stagnant.[11] For example, in 'The Great

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[9] *The Royal Game of the Assembling of the Nations: Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations*, (London: John Betts, [1851]). *The World's Fair; or Children's Prize Gift Book of the Great Exhibition of 1851*, states that '[t]he Chinese have sent in embroidered shawls, table-covers, teas, curious and intricate toys, and specimens of handicraft': *The World's Fair; or Children's Prize Gift Book of the Great Exhibition of 1851, Describing the Beautiful Inventions and Manufactures Exhibited Therein; with Pretty Stories About the People Who Have Made and Sent Them; and How They Live When at Home* (London: Thomas Dean & Son, [1851]), p. 19. Another children's book that provided more detailed information about China was *Fireside Facts from the Great Exhibition* (1851), which presents a series of dialogues between a group of children and adults describing Chinese silk, chopsticks, and other topics related to food and clothing. See Samuel Prout Newcombe, *Fireside Facts from the Great Exhibition* (London: Houlston & Stoneman, 1851). According to Dennis Denisoff, 'books such as *Fireside Facts from the Great Exhibition* (by S. Prout Newcombe) and *Little Henry's Holiday at the Great Exhibition* (by Newcombe, William Dickes and Edward Whymper) helped turn the event into a tool for selling the adventure of international commerce to the young. Such works make it clear that consumerist values were inscribed into children's literature, this was not purely the result of adult wishes to manipulate the young': Dennis Denisoff, 'Small Change: The Consumerist Designs of the Nineteenth-Century Child', in *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture*, ed. by Dennis Denisoff (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 1-26 (p. 17).

[10] See Stuart Creighton Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); Jerome Ch'en, *China and the West: Society and Culture, 1815-1937* (London: Hutchinson, 1979). For analysis of Barrow's impressions of China, see Joe Sample, '"The First Appearance of This Celebrated Capital": or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Chinaman', in *Asian Crossings: Travel Writing on China, Japan and Southeast Asia*, ed. by Steve Clark and Paul Smethurst (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008), pp. 31-46.

[11] David Porter, 'A Peculiar but Uninteresting Nation: China and the Discourse of Commerce in Eighteenth-Century England', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 33.2 (2000), 181-99 (p. 191); James M. McCutcheon, '"Tremblingly Obey": British and Other Western Responses to China and the Chinese

Exhibition and the Little One', Dickens and Horne state that if readers compare China's section of the Great Exhibition to that of Britain's, they will see the contrast 'between Stoppage and Progress'.[12] Doloni, one of Bowman's characters in *The Travels of Rolando; or, A Tour Round the World. Second Series, Containing a Journey through Mesopotamia, Persia, Kamschatka, China, and Thibet* (1853), echoes this view, commenting that in China '[n]othing progresses; nothing degenerates; all is eternal sameness'.[13] Throughout 'The Great Exhibition and the Little One', readers are asked to consider 'the greatness of the English results, and extraordinary littleness of the Chinese'.[14] In the first few pages of *The Wolf Boy of China; or Incidents and Adventures in the Life of Lyu-Payo* (1857), Dalton compares the Chinese to a mouse that is content to live inside a 'little box', even though it is aware that there is a big world outside. He claims that the Chinese were very surprised when they found out that China is actually 'very little' after some missionaries showed them a map of the world.[15] Dalton's use of 'little' suggests that

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Kotow', *The Historian*, XXXIII.4 (1970), 557-77; Raymond Stanley Dawson, *The Chinese Chameleon: An Analysis of European Conceptions of Chinese Civilization* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967); Colin Mackerras, *Western Images of China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[12] Charles Dickens and R. H. Horne, 'The Great Exhibition and the Little One', *Household Words*, 3 (1851), 356-60 (p. 360). The Chinese section of the Great Exhibition that Dickens and Horne visited was comprised of objects contributed by English and American collectors and shopkeepers because the Chinese government did not send in an official contribution. According to Lara Kriegel, 'Dickens and Horne declared that the "China" they actually abhorred was a version of England itself, one devoted to "stoppage" rather than "progress"': Lara Kriegel, 'The Pudding and the Palace: Labor, Print Culture, and Imperial Britain in 1851', in *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation*, ed. by Antoinette Burton (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. 230-45 (p. 240). As Ziter and others have pointed out, visitors to the Crystal Palace could be regarded as another 'display'—an ethnographic one that was often satirised by cartoonists such as George Augustus Sala, who illustrated Chinese people among the Orientals who came to visit the Crystal Palace in *The Great Glass House Opened: the Exhibition Wot's Gone* and John Tenniel, who published 'The Happy Family in Hyde Park' in *Punch*, in which a Chinese, an American Indian, a Turk, and other exotics dance inside the Crystal Palace. See Edward Ziter, *The Orient on the Victorian Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 106-08.

[13] Anne Bowman, *The Travels of Rolando; or, a Tour Round the World. Second Series, Containing a Journey through Mesopotamia, Persia, Kamschatka, China, and Thibet*, 2nd ed. (London: George Routledge, [1853] 1854), p. 252.

[14] Dickens and Horne, 'The Great Exhibition and the Little One', 358.

[15] William Dalton, *The Wolf Boy of China; or, Incidents and Adventures in the Life of Lyu-Payo* (New York: The World Publishing House, [1857] 1875), p. 12. The source for this incident can be found in Volume 2 of Jean Baptiste Du Halde, *The General History of China: Containing a*

he may have been influenced by Dickens and Horne's article. Both Bowman and Dalton's books include statements that make one tempted to dismiss them as providing negative stereotypical views of China, but a close reading of the texts reveals distinctive ideas about race, miscegenation, and mixed-race children that one does not usually find in children's fiction. This chapter situates Bowman and Dalton's works in their historical context, examining how the representation of China and the Chinese in these novels was influenced by contemporary trends such as the mid-Victorian 'spirit of encyclopaedism' and the emergence of 'racial science'.

Anne Bowman and William Dalton: Mediators of Knowledge

Neither Anne Bowman nor William Dalton travelled to China. A long-time resident of Richmond, Yorkshire, Bowman (1795?-1886) ran a printing and booksellers business with her brother where they published books of local interest, such as the *Bowman's Guide to Richmond* (1836) before devoting her time to writing full-length novels.[16] Like Bowman, William Dalton (1821-1875) belonged to 'an old Yorkshire family', but was born in London, where he worked as a journalist and was sometime editor of the *Daily Telegraph* and sub-editor of the *Morning Advertiser*.[17]

Geographical, Historical, Chronological, Political and Physical Description of the Empire of China, Chinese-Tartary, Corea and Thibet, trans. by Richard Brookes, 3rd edn (London: Watts, [1736] 1741), pp. 135-36.

[16] Anne Bowman was the daughter of Anne Pulleine and Thomas Bowman (1772-1862), who was a clerk and book-keeper. See Eric Quayle, *Early Children's Books: A Collector's Guide* (Newton Abbot, Devon: David & Charles, 1983), pp. 197-98. Most critics list her life dates as 1801-90. See Dennis Butts, 'Women Writers of Adventure Stories--No.3--Anne Bowman (1801-1890)', *Henty Society Bulletin*, VIII.60 (1992), 19-21. However, the only Anne Bowman of Richmond, Yorkshire I could find in the census records for 1871 and 1881 listed her age as 74 and 84 respectively, which would make her estimated birth year 1797, not 1801. But the *Publishers' Circular* published her obituary on 2 August 1886 and announced that she died on 23 July, at the age of 91, making her birth year 1795. See 'Anne Bowman', *Publishers' Circular and General Record of British and Foreign Literature*, 49.1173 (1886), 829. Anne Bowman and Thomas Bowman, *Bowman's Guide to Richmond and the Neighbourhood Including Rokeby; with Four Lithographic Views of Richmond, a Plan of St. Agatha's Abbey and a Complete and Accurate List of the Rare Plants of the District* (Richmond: Bowman, 1836).

[17] According to *Men of the Time: A Dictionary of Contemporaries, Containing Biographical Notices of Eminent Characters of Both Sexes*, Dalton was one of the founders of the Savage Club, served as editor of a monthly magazine, and was 'honorary secretary of several literary institutions'. The Savage Club was founded in 1857 at the Crown Tavern, Vinegar Yard, Drury Lane, by a group of Bohemians (artists, journalists, and authors). Notable members of the Savage Club include G. A. Henty, George Augustus Sala, Wilkie Collins, Sir Henry Irving, Mark Twain, and others. Dalton was

Without firsthand experience of China, both authors had to rely on secondary sources for their information on China, and as the previous chapter has demonstrated, there were hundreds of books and articles for them to choose from. In fact, as early as 1830, W. W. Wood felt the need to justify why another work on China was needed when respected historians and diplomats had already published lengthy volumes dedicated to the country:

> Some reasonable excuse will in all probability be expected for the perpetration of a work on China, when we have already the ponderous volumes of Du Halde, De Guignes, Grosier, Staunton, Barrow, and several minor works by other authors. [...] To the historian or the antiquary, these folios of Jesuitical labours are invaluable, but to one who is anxious to be made acquainted with the prominent traits of Chinese manners and customs, they are by no means calculated to afford a speedy gratification.[18]

He suggested that these works were not likely to be perused by the average reader because in order to gain information on 'the leading features of the country and its inhabitants', one must 'wade through such a mass of comparatively uninteresting matter, and tediousness of detail'. Therefore, 'few choose to purchase their knowledge of China at the price of so much patient research'.[19] For Victorians experiencing the 'knowledge explosion' for the first time, 'speedy gratification' became a central concern for those seeking information. Wood's comment that not many people were patient enough to read the often multi-volumed works on China makes the texts examined in this thesis more significant because they reveal how

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elected to the Committee at the first annual meeting which was held on 4 February 1858. See Thompson Cooper, *Men of the Time: A Dictionary of Contemporaries, Containing Biographical Notices of Eminent Characters of Both Sexes*, 8th edn (London: Routledge, 1872), p. 277. For a history of the Savage Club, see Aaron Watson, *The Savage Club: A Medley of History, Anecdote and Reminiscence* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1907).

[18] W. W. Wood, *Sketches of China, with Illustrations from Original Drawings* (Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1830), p. vii. According to the *Chinese Repository*, Wood 'published a paper in Canton for nearly two years, called the Canton Courier. This work contains such notices of Canton and its vicinity, the trade, and the native and foreign communities, as were most easily gathered up, giving a tolerably good idea of life in Canton as it was under the old regime': 'List of Works Upon China', *Chinese Repository*, XVIII.VIII (1849), 416-44 (p. 424). In fact as early as 1769, it was declared that 'China is better known than some provinces of Europe itself': Quoted in Adolf Reichwein, *China and Europe*, trans. by J. C. Powell (London: Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1925), p. 78.

[19] Wood, *Sketches of China*, p. vii.

adults like Bowman and Dalton, who, unlike Wood, did not have personal experience of the country, mediated the 'ponderous volumes' of books on China from the 'imperial archive' for a mass audience, including not only child readers but potential consumers such as parents, teachers, and relatives. During the researching and writing process, they attempted to harness knowledge, wading through and filtering the mass of information about China for those who wished 'to be made acquainted with the prominent traits of Chinese manners and customs'.

Dalton quotes extensively from his two acknowledged sources, French Lazarist missionary M. Huc's *Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China, 1844-1846* and Marco Polo's *The Travels of Marco Polo.*[20] His unacknowledged sources include famous eighteenth-century texts such as J. B. Du Halde's *The General History of China* and George Staunton's *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China*, as well as nineteenth-century books such as Charles Gutzlaff's *A Sketch of Chinese History,* John Francis Davis's *The Chinese: a General Description of the Empire of China and its Inhabitants* and articles in newspapers and journals such as *The Times* and the *Canton Miscellany.*[21] Although

[20] Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo, a Venetian in the Thirteenth Century: Being a Description, by That Early Traveller, of Remarkable Places and Things in the Eastern Parts of the World*, trans. by William Marsden (London: Baylis, 1818); Evariste Regis Huc, *Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China During the Years 1844-5-6*, trans. by William Carew Hazlitt, 2 vols (London: Office of the National Illustrated Library, 1851). Huc's book was abridged by M. Jones and published as *Life and Travel in Tartary, Thibet, and China: Being a Narrative of the Abbe Huc's Travels in the Far East.* In 1867, M. Jones explained in the Preface to the book: 'A great book is said to be a great evil. The Abbe Huc's account of his travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China, is certainly not a very large book; and yet, for young readers, it may be with advantage be made less. So, by choosing here and there, and compressing the portions that I select, I have brought some interesting details of life in those little known regions into small compass': M. Jones, *Life & Travel in Tartary, Thibet, and China: Being a Narrative of the Abbe Huc's Travels in the Far East*, reprint edn (London: Nelson, [1867] 1872). For more information on the life of Huc, see J. C. Willke, 'E. R. Huc', in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd edn, 15 vols (Detroit: Thomson/Gale 2003), VII, pp. 145-46.

[21] Du Halde, *General History*; George Sir Staunton, *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China: Including Cursory Observations Made, and Information Obtained, in Travelling through That Ancient Empire, and a Small Part of Chinese Tartary; Together with a Relation of the Voyage Undertaken on the Occasion by H.M.S. Lion and the Ship Hindostan, in the East India Company's Service, to the Yellow Sea, and Gulf of Pekin, as Well as of Their Return to Europe*, 3 vols (London: Bulmer, 1797); Charles Gutzlaff, *A Sketch of Chinese*

Bowman does not specify her sources, she, like Dalton, consulted *Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China, 1844-1846* for information on Tibet. Her main sources of information on China were the works of Robert Fortune, such as *Three Years' Wanderings in the Northern Provinces of China* (1847) and *A Journey to the Tea Countries of China* (1852). Fortune, Huc, Davis, and Gutzlaff were regarded as some of the leading authorities on China at the time.[22] A reviewer of *The Wolf Boy of China* felt the need to test 'the truthfulness of many of the descriptions by comparing them with the statements of Davis, Gutzlaff, Huc, and Fortune' before concluding that the 'Celestial people are represented with rigid truthfulness' in Dalton's novel.[23] Despite sharing similar sources by famous Chinese 'experts', Bowman and Dalton's representations of China and the Chinese differ in many ways. In the first section of this chapter, I will consider how Bowman constructed a picturesque China with an emphasis on natural history. Secondly, I will focus on how 'chains' of readers in *The Wolf Boy of China* can be identified in order to gain insight into the dissemination of knowledge about China from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Then, I compare Bowman and Dalton's attitudes toward race and

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History, Ancient and Modern: Comprising a Retrospect of the Foreign Intercourse and Trade with China, 2 vols (London: Smith, Elder, 1834).

[22] Sir John Francis Davis (1795-1890) was a colonial governor and Chinese scholar who accompanied Lord Amherst on his embassy to Peking in 1816 because of his linguistic and diplomatic aptitude. He was appointed plenipotentiary and superintendent of trade at Canton, and governor and commander-in-chief of Hong Kong in 1844. German missionary Karl (Charles) Gutzlaff (1803-1851), one of Medhurst's collaborators on the Bible translation project, published several books in Dutch, French, German, and English. Gutzlaff served as an interpreter for the British administration while editing magazines, translating and writing. His *Journal of Three Voyages Along the Coast of China, in 1831, 1832, & 1833* (1834) became a bestseller and 'stirred up a craze for "opening" China both to British commerce and the Christian mission': Ting Man Tsao, 'A Reading of Readings: English Travel Books, Audiences, and Modern Chinese History, c. 1832 to the Present', in *Asian Crossings: Travel Writing on China, Japan and Southeast Asia*, ed. by Steve Clark and Paul Smethurst (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008), pp. 47-70 (p. 50). His *China Opened* (1838) was an optimistic text which, according to a twentieth-century historian, 'ranked with Davis's China in importance and furnished much material for other writers on Chinese subjects': Mary Gertrude Mason, *Western Concepts of China and the Chinese, 1840-1876* (Westport, CT: Hyperion, 1939), p. 25.

[23] 'Reviews: Christmas Books for Children', *Baptist Magazine*, L (1858), 31-34 (p. 33). The *Saturday Review* preferred Davis's work over that of M. Huc, noting that while Huc's writing is 'lively', Davis's work is 'more seriously written, and has a more authentic air': 'The Chinese', *Saturday Review*, 25 July 1857, p. 87.

miscegenation.

Anne Bowman's China

Anne Bowman was a prolific writer who produced at least one book a year from 1855-75.[24] Although she wrote girl's books such as *Laura Temple* (1851), *Clarissa* (1864), and *The Rector's Daughter* (1864), it was her adventure stories for boys, such as *The Castaways* (1857), *The Young Yachtsmen* (1865), *Tom and the Crocodiles* (1867), *The Young Nile Voyagers* (1868), and *The Boy Foresters* (1868) for which she became known. According to Dennis Butts, although her boy's adventure stories are noted for their prolixity, 'undefined' two-dimensional characters, and lack of organization, 'there was little like them from female writers before'.[25] He points out that Bowman's descriptions of wildlife and natural history resemble the works of children's authors such as Mayne Reid (1818-1883).[26] Another similarity can be found when one compares Mayne Reid's book titles to those of Bowman's. Reid's *The Young Voyageurs* was published in 1853, followed by Bowman's *The Boy Voyagers* in 1859.[27] His *The Boy Hunters* (1853) and *The Giraffe Hunters* (1867) are echoed in her *The Kangaroo Hunters* (1859).[28]

The protagonists in two of Bowman's adventure stories, *The Boy Voyagers; or, the Pirates of the East* (1859) and *The Travels of Rolando; or, A Tour Round the*

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[24] Quayle, *The Collector's Book of Boys' Stories*, p. 83. Most of her works, such as *Charade Dramas for the Drawing Room* (1855), were published by George Routledge & Sons in London.
[25] Butts, 'Women Writers of Adventure Stories', 19-20.
[26] Butts, 'Women Writers of Adventure Stories', 19. Captain Mayne Reid, who specialized in adventure stories for boys, was one of the most popular children's authors in the 1850s and 60s. However, according to Edward Salmon, although he was described as 'the prince of boys' authors', the majority of his readers were adults. See Edward Salmon, 'Books for Boys' [1888], (repr. in *A Peculiar Gift: Nineteenth Century Writings on Books for Children*, ed. by Lance Salway (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, UK: Kestrel Books, 1976), pp. 371-86), p. 372.
[27] *The Boy Voyagers* was characterized as 'a smart little vessel' by a reviewer in *Athenaeum.* See Jane Williams, 'Our Library Table: The Boy Voyagers; or, the Pirates of the East', *Athenaeum*, 1677 (1859), 812.
[28] For a discussion of *The Kangaroo Hunters*, see Robin Pope, 'Captivating Narratives: Reeling in the Nineteenth Century Child Reader', *Latrobe Library Journal*, 60 (1997), 134-47 (pp. 137-39). See also Clare Bradford, *Reading Race: Aboriginality in Australian Children's Literature* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2001), pp. 84-87. For discussion on *The Boy Hunters*, see Salmon, 'Books for Boys', pp. 373-75.

World. Second Series, Containing a Journey through Mesopotamia, Persia, Kamschatka, China, and Thibet (1853), travel to China. The latter book was the sequel to *The Travels of Rolando* (1799), originally written in French by Louis Francois Jauffret, translated into English by Lucy Aikin in 1804, and edited by Cecil Hartley in 1852.[29] Bowman explains in her preface that she wrote the sequel because she had enjoyed reading *The Travels of Rolando* as a child and 'pin[ed]' to know the conclusion to the adventures of the hero and his friends.[30] Her penchant for this book was so strong that she mentions characters in two of her other novels reading it.[31] Bowman was not the only one mesmerized by the exploits of Rolando; Judith, a character in Sabine Baring-Gould's novel *The Roar of the Sea: A Tale of the Cornish Coast* (1892), would sit in a sycamore tree reading the book aloud to her brother, 'revel[ing] in the adventures of Rolando'. Judith 'could not part with the four-

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[29] Jauffret (1770-1840), a believer in childhood innocence, was the author of *The Charms of Childhood and the Pleasures of Maternal Love* (1791), which was translated into many European languages and continued to be reissued in the nineteenth century. He also lectured on natural history. Throughout the 1790s, Jauffret published numerous children's texts and works on the subject of childhood. He became an expert on deaf mute children and was fondly known as the '*Ami des enfants*' (Friend of Children). He was also interested in the 'science of man' and formed the Society of Observers of Man (whose motto was 'Know thyself') in 1800. They believed that 'the study of the child was the foundation of the knowledge of man' and that those interested in anthropology should take up this 'useful' task. See Adriana S. Benzaquen, 'Childhood, Identity and Human Science in the Enlightenment', *History Workshop Journal*, 57 (2004), 35-57 (pp. 46-48). For more information about Lucy Aikin (1781-1864), see Kathryn Ready, 'The Enlightenment Feminist Project of Lucy Aikin's Epistles on Women (1810)', *History of European Ideas*, 31 (2005), 435-50. A review of the English translation of *Travels* commended Aikin's writing but notes that the information provided about different countries is 'of a more superficial nature; and from the want of references to authorities from which the accounts are borrowed, they have a greater air of fiction, and are less likely to make a lasting impression'. The review says the book cannot compare to *The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger* by the Abbe Barthelemy (1716-1795), which introduced 'young persons to a knowledge of the topography and customs of ancient Greece': 'Review of the Travels of Rolando', *Monthly Review*, XLV (1804), 441. Some later editions of Bowman's sequel altered the title to *The Adventures of Rolando through Mesopotamia, Persia, Kamschatka, China, and Thibet.*

[30] Bowman, *Rolando*, p. v. Another nineteenth-century author who had read *The Travels of Rolando* was Mary Shelley (1797-1851), who records reading the story in 1820. See University of Pennsylvania Department of English, 'Mary Shelley's Reading'; <http://www.english.upenn.edu/Projects/knarf/MShelley/bypub.html> [accessed 12 November 2007].

[31] In *The Boy Pilgrims*, Edwin states, 'I wouldn't mind going through the 'Travels of Rolando' again, if we had it, as we are going to Egypt. That was a capital dodge, when the jolly old Segnier stuck fast in the Pyramids': Anne Bowman, *The Boy Pilgrims* (London: Routledge, 1866), p. 14. In *The Boy Voyagers*, Minna informs her friends that Kooda Sama, their new Japanese friend has lent her 'some pretty French books, 'The Travels of Rolando', and some delicious "Fairy Tales" [...]': Anne Bowman, *The Boy Voyagers; or, the Pirates of the East* (London: Routledge, 1859), p. 321.

volumed red-leather-backed book' and the narrator asserts that Rolando 'would remain through life [her] friend and companion'.[32] Because *The Roar of the Sea* was published towards the end of the nineteenth century, it is possible that the four-volume book Judith was reading contained both Jauffret's *Travels of Rolando* and Bowman's sequel.

In her preface to *The Travels of Rolando* (*TR*), which was mostly likely read by potential adult buyers, Bowman professes not to have 'the fertile imagination of Jauffret', or 'the polished style of Miss Aikin', but hopes to provide 'sketches which may excite inquiry' and 'suggestions which may encourage research'.[33] Her primary purpose, which has been established in many of the prefaces to her books, is for children to gain a deeper appreciation of God by knowing more about nature. For example, in her preface to *The Castaways* she states:

> it is desirable to implant in the minds of the young a taste for natural objects, to encourage them to look, with a microscopic eye, on the faultless works of creation, and thus to foster love and veneration for the Mighty Creator [...] To forward this end, the author has successfully given former works to the public, and again ventures to offer such a tale of adventure as may captivate the fancy, while lessons of useful knowledge and examples of piety and morality may improve the understanding [...].[34]

In asserting that a child's observations in nature would lead to 'veneration for the Mighty Creator', Bowman was reflecting the belief in natural theology as espoused by William Paley in his popular *Natural Theology: or, Evidences of the Existence*

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[32] Sabine Baring-Gould, *The Roar of the Sea: A Tale of the Cornish Coast* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger, 1892), p. 59.

[33] Bowman, *Rolando*, pp. v-vi. Noah Webster had a similar purpose: 'I have endeavored to render the work useful to the Student, by interweaving, with topographical description, important historical facts, which will serve to excite his curiosity, and prompt him to further inquiry': Noah Webster, *Elements of Useful Knowledge: Containing a Historical and Geographical Account of the Empires and States in Europe, Asia and Africa, with Their Colonies: To Which Is Added a Brief Description of New Holland*, (New Haven, CT: Bronson, Walter, 1806), III, n. pag. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, almost every children's book contained prefaces or afterwords specifically addressed to the adult mediator who might have been a parent, teacher, librarian, or bookseller. See Hans-Heino Ewers, 'The Limits of Literary Criticism of Children's and Young Adult Literature', *The Lion and the Unicorn*, 19.1 (1995), 77-94 (p. 80).

[34] Anne Bowman, *The Castaways; or, the Adventures of a Family in the Wilds of Africa* (London: Routledge, 1857).

and Attributes of the Deity (1802).[35] Bowman's emphasis on developing a taste for 'natural objects' among the young echoes the view expressed by influential educationalist Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849) and her father in *Practical Education* (1798) who claimed that '[n]atural history is a study particularly suited to children: it cultivates their talents for observation, applies to objects within their reach, and to objects which are every day interesting to them'.[36] Bowman's statement also reflects the attitude of many nineteenth-century children's authors, who, according to Alan Rauch, believed that 'knowledge was not only a powerful tool used to instill young minds with a sense of the power and wonder of God but also the means of inculcating patterns of moral conduct'.[37] Female authors such as Bowman and Priscilla Wakefield, who believed that 'to behold God in His works is the true end of all our knowledge, and of natural history in particular', were heavily involved in popularizing knowledge of natural history for the young during the nineteenth century.[38]

Many scientific trends swept through nineteenth-century Britain, including botany, geology, entomology, archaeology, and palaeontology. Amateurs, many of them women, not content to be passive consumers of knowledge, enthusiastically gathered ferns, collected rocks, and searched for insects.[39] In the 1830s and 40s, women displayed their passion for natural history by becoming popularizers of

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[35] William Paley, *Natural Theology: or, Evidence of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity*, 14th edn (London: Faulder, [1802] 1813). For more information on natural theology, see William E. Burns, *Science in the Enlightenment: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2003), pp. 211-12.

[36] Maria Edgeworth and Richard Lovell Edgeworth, *Practical Education* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1855), p. 253.

[37] Rauch, *Useful Knowledge*, p. 47.

[38] Quoted in Rauch, *Useful Knowledge*, p. 47.

[39] Barbara T. Gates, *Kindred Nature: Victorian and Edwardian Women Embrace the Living World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 36. Three such women were Margaret Gatty (1809-1873), Marianne North (1830-1890), and Eleanor Anne Ormerod (1828-1901), whose lives and work are discussed in Suzanne Le-May Sheffield, *Revealing New Worlds: Three Victorian Women Naturalists* (London: Routledge, 2001). Nature diarist Emily Shore was another. See Mary Ellen Bellanca, *Daybooks of Discovery: Nature Diaries in Britain, 1770-1870* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2007), pp. 146-73.

science through contributions to generalist magazines such as the *Penny Magazine*. Print culture offered these women, who were not given the chance to become professional scientists, an outlet for their scientific interests. According to Ann B. Shteir, women writers during the period 1830-60 performed 'important work as cultural mediators of botanical knowledge, and their expositions often served as "first steps" to botany'.[40] These writers earned praise from historian and philosopher of science, William Whewell (1794-1866), who commented that Victorian women were effective popularizers of science.[41] However, women were not merely transmitters of scientific knowledge; they also assumed the role of 'moral teacher'. As Barbara T. Gates puts it, '[m]ost of the early women popularizers preferred to imagine their audience as receptive but uninformed women and children who would function as virtual tabulae rasae, querying and then waiting to receive the scientific word'.[42] Jane Loudon, author of *The First Book of Botany ... for Schools and Young Persons* (1841) and *The Young Naturalist's Journey* (1840) and Anne Pratt, author of *Wild Flowers* (1852-53) and *The Green Fields and Their Grasses* (1852) were two well-known popularizers of science who profited from the general public's interest in horticultural knowledge.[43] In the 1850s, science became more professionalized, making it more difficult for women to publish their observations in serious journals.[44] They could, however, still demonstrate knowledge of natural history

[40] Ann B. Shteir, *Cultivating Women, Cultivating Science: Flora's Daughters and Botany in England, 1760 to 1860* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 197.
[41] Gates, *Kindred Nature*, p. 37.
[42] Gates, *Kindred Nature*, p. 38.
[43] Ann B. Shteir, 'Loudon, Jane (1807–1858)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17030> [accessed 24 September 2007]. See also Shteir, *Cultivating Women*, pp. 202-08. As Shteir points out, these women had to be careful when dealing with Linnaean plant sexuality because it signalled 'cultural danger' (201). For more information about female popularizers of science in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Chapter Three of Bernard V. Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science: Designing Nature for New Audiences* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007).
[44] Gates, *Kindred Nature*, p. 3. Also Martin Daunton, 'Introduction', in *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain*, ed. by Martin Daunton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 12-13.

through fiction.

In *The Travels of Rolando; or, A Tour Round the World. Second Series, Containing a Journey through Mesopotamia, Persia, Kamschatka, China, and Thibet* (1853), Bowman utilizes familiar characters created by Jauffret, namely, Abbe Doloni (historian), Montval (naturalist), Martin de la Bastide (geographer), St. Kassian (philanthropist), Louis Segnier ('friend and pupil of natural history'), Dr. Codonel (surgeon), and Ingardin (farmer and merchant) to provide information about not only natural history, but many other topics as well.[45] At the beginning of the novel, Rolando's friends decide to travel with him as he embarks on a voyage in search of his parents and brother. Before arriving in China, they stop in Bombay, Bagdad, Bokhara [Bukhara], and many other localities which had not been introduced in Jauffret's *The Travels of Rolando*.[46] Using the 'conversation' or 'dialogue' style exemplified in works such as *Conversations on Natural Philosophy* (1821) and *China: A Dialogue, for the Use of School* (1824), Bowman is able to convey large amounts of facts about China to her readers.[47] For example, when Rolando and his friends reach the Great Wall, Doloni asks Ki-chan, 'what is the

[45] Rolando first meets some of his loyal companions in Chapter IV of the first book when he is captured by Moors: 'Happily, the Moor who had seized me had seized also some of the captives in whom I was most interested. Martin de la Bastide, an excellent geographer; the Abbe Doloni, a learned antiquary; Dr. Codonel, a distinguished surgeon; Chiousee, a great hunter; Ingardin, a farmer and merchant, were joined with me, and carried into the same tent': Hartley, ed., *Travels of Rolando*, p. 25. The group meets St. Kassian in Egypt: 'One of the strangers struck me particularly by his tall figure and animated countenance. His name was Roccas de Saint Kassian. He did not say much; but it was easy through is silence to discern that he was full of ideas, and refrained from speaking, only to observe more. From the extreme loquacity of his companion Martin Chateauvert, and some words that he himself let fall, I learned that he had been twice round the world, and would prove a most valuable acquaintance. I was ambitious of gaining his confidence, and from that moment used my efforts to deserve it. He perceived this, and appeared willing to meet my advances': Hartley, ed., *Travels of Rolando*, p. 109. They also meet the Segniers in Egypt.

[46] According to an advertisement for Bowman's book, it 'completes the Tour of the World through such parts as were left unnoticed by the author of the first series'. See the Routledge Illustrated Juvenile Books list at the back of Charles Selby, *Maximums & Specimens of William Muggins, Natural Philosopher and Citizen of the World*, new edn (London: Routledge, 1859).

[47] Jane Marcet, *Conversations on Natural Philosophy: in which the Elements of that Science are Familiarly Explained and Adapted to the Comprehension of Young Pupils* (Hartford: Goodwin & Sons, 1821); [Morrison], *China: A Dialogue, for the Use of School: Being Ten Conversations, between a Father and his Two Children, Concerning the History and Present State of that Country* (London: Nisbet, 1824). For discussion on this style, see Rauch, *Useful Knowledge*, p. 52.

actual length of this amazing structure? [...] I have heard that it is 2,000 miles in length. I look to you for the truth'. Ki-chan replies, 'we must limit the extent of it to about 1,500'.[48]

The initial effect that China has on Rolando and his friends is highly romantic and dream-like: they 'felt as if transported to some land of enchantment, and never perceived the distance [they] went, till [they] entered the walls of Pekin, as if in a dream' (*TR* 248). When Rolando informs readers that the rice-fields, fertile plains, country houses, and tiny lakes that he and his friends see seem to be 'the very China depicted on the porcelain cups we had admired so much in our childhood', he is defining China in domestic terms (*TR* 248).[49] Blue willow pattern plates, typically featuring pagodas, bridges, pigtailed men, and foot-bound women, were the most ubiquitous household item during the *Chinoiserie* craze of the eighteenth century.[50] By the 1780s, mass production of 'Chinese' porcelain had become common in Britain, making it possible for people like Bowman to own porcelain teacups and the willow pattern plates.[51] In invoking these familiar household items to help her young readers visualize China, Bowman was using a technique previously utilized by Samuel Goodrich (Peter Parley), in *Manners and Customs of the Principal Nations*

[48] Bowman, *Rolando*, p. 247. Further references to this book are given after quotations in the text.
[49] Even after Rolando and his friends visit the porcelain factory at King-te-ching [Jingdezhen] where readers are informed that 'even the small teacup of China must pass through sixty hands before it is completed', he does not correct his statement about China being exactly the same as the China depicted on teacups (315).
[50] By 1848, publications such as *New Gift Book for Youth* expected children to be familiar with the Great Wall, 'quaint' Chinese junks, 'nine-storied' pagodas, Chinese bridges, the 'never-absent' willow, 'the doll-like lady, with her pinched and stunted feet, and the fat Mandarin, with his long tail': *The New Gift Book for Youth: Being Interesting Sketches & Pictures Concerning the Arctic Regions* (London: R. Yorke Clarke, 1848), n. pag. The Great Wall is frequently mentioned in children's books published in the 1820s. See, for example, Mary Anne Venning, *A Geographical Present* (London: Harvey and Darton, 1820); Isaac Taylor, *Scenes in Asia: For the Amusement and Instruction of Little Tarry-at-Home Travellers, Wonders! Descriptive of Some of the Most Remarkable of Nature and Art*, (London: Harris and Son, 1821); *The World in Miniature, or, Panorama of the Costumes, Manners, & Customs, of All Nations* (1825). For detailed discussion of *Chinoiserie*, see Hugh Honour, *Chinoiserie: The Vision of Cathay* (London: Murray, 1961).
[51] Haddad discusses American travellers who used porcelain as their frame of reference for impressions of China. See Chapter 2 of John Rogers Haddad, *The Romance of China: Excursions to China in U.S. Culture, 1776-1876* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

of the Globe (1849), where he assumes that '[e]veryone is familiar with their dress, personal appearance, and aspect of their houses, from the drawings in their porcelain'.[52] Similarly, in *The Boy Voyagers* (*BV*), when Walter comments that '[i]t would be very pleasant to have a peep into that land of wonders, to see the pagodas, the mandarins with the pigtails and the yellow buttons, and the women with the tiny little feet that they cannot walk with', he is also evoking willow pattern plates and porcelain cups from home.[53] When runaway schoolboys Walter Thornville and Frank Freeman arrive in China, they feel 'delighted' with the 'picturesque effect' of 'scenery depicted on the old China tea-cups, the narrow canals, with their wooden bridges, the artificial rocks, and the flower-pots' and longed for their friend Minna to 'see the pretty sight' (*BV* 376). Because the images of China on willow pattern plates and porcelain cups were scaled down, Walter employs a 'toy' motif when describing the scenes before them. For example, Walter and his friends are 'charmed with the toy-like houses, with the tiny balconies, and the tiny potted trees that filled them' (*BV* 365-66). When they are 'conveyed through that region of miniature landscape fancies—a Chinese garden, amidst groves of dwarfed forest-trees, ornamental bridges thrown over tiny canals, gilt pagodas, artificial rock-work covered with luxuriant ferns and creeping plants', it seems as if they have stepped into a scene depicted on a willow pattern plate (*BV* 372).

Rolando and his friends are able to enter China, 'that most impenetrable country', as 'scientific travellers' who will 'examine its natural productions, its antiquities, and its progress in arts and sciences' because they had helped Ki-chan,

[52] Samuel Griswold Goodrich, *Manners and Customs of the Principal Nations of the Globe* (Boston: Rand and Mann, 1849), pp. 342-43.
[53] Bowman, *The Boy Voyagers*, p. 177. Further references to this book are given after quotations in the text.

the son of an important mandarin in Peking (*TR* 191; 207).[54] It is significant that they are neither merchants nor soldiers, roles that would have been more contentious and possibly threatening to the Chinese. Because their mission was to investigate China's arts and sciences, it was more neutral and considered 'safe', reflecting Bowman's stance as a female popularizer of science. However, though nominally scientific travellers, they also function as imperial agents of sorts because they survey and gather intelligence about China.

As Sara Mills, Mary Louise Pratt, and others have demonstrated, female travel writers often produced 'a vision of the colonized country as a storehouse of random flora and fauna waiting for the civilizing ordering of the narrator within her Western science'.[55] Similarly, China is constructed as a treasure chest of flora and fauna waiting for Rolando and his friends to explore. Rolando and his friends take the route from Canton to the Bohea Mountains in northern Fujian [now known as the Wuyi Mountains] that Scottish horticulturalist Robert Fortune, who had travelled in China to collect plants for the Royal Horticultural Society and the East India Company, describes in *A Journey to the Tea Countries of China* (1852), and *Three Years' Wanderings in the Northern Provinces of China* (1847).[56] Bowman would

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[54] Bowman probably named this character Ki-chan after reading about Ki-Chan, the imperial commissioner who engaged in negotiations with Mr Elliott, the English plenipotentiary at Canton in 1839 in Huc's book. Huc explains that Ki-Chan was accused of betraying the Chinese and was banished to Tartary by the Emperor. In 1844, he was 'sent to Lha-Ssa as envoy-extraordinary in the matter of the Nomekhan': Evariste Regis Huc, *Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China During the Years 1844-5-6*, trans. by William Carew Hazlitt, 2nd reprint edn, 2 vols (Chicago: Open Court, 1900), p. 173.

[55] Sara Mills, 'Knowledge, Gender, and Empire', in *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*, ed. by Gillian Rose and Alison Blunt (New York: Gulford, 1994), pp. 29-50 (p. 41).

[56] The Bohea Mountains are famous for black tea. Robert Fortune, *Three Years' Wanderings in the Northern Provinces of China, Including a Visit to the Tea, Silk, and Cotton Countries: With an Account of the Agriculture and Horticulture of the Chinese, New Plants, Etc*, 2nd edn (London: Murray, 1847); Robert Fortune, *A Journey to the Tea-Countries of China, Including Sung-Lo and the Bohea Hills: With a Short Notice of the East India Company's Tea Plantations in the Himalaya Mountains* (London: Murray, 1852). The Royal Horticultural Society provided Robert Fortune (1812-1880) with the opportunity to establish himself as a leading expert on tea and Chinese flora when they assigned him the task of collecting plants in the country from 1843-46. His shared his experiences in a series of books, the first being *Three Years' Wanderings in the Northern Provinces*

probably have been familiar with Fortune's work because he attained a reputation for being a tea expert after his books were reviewed in prominent newspapers and journals such as the *Edinburgh Review*.[57] To enhance the element of danger in his books, Fortune allocates many pages to descriptions of how he engaged in disguises, explaining to readers how he metamorphosed into a Chinaman after shaving his head and wearing a pigtail. He emphasizes the danger of being exposed as a foreigner whereas Bowman's characters can travel safely throughout China undisguised. Even Rolando is surprised that 'none turned aside to notice [them]' (*TR* 250). Unlike Fortune, who faced many difficulties travelling through China, the group travels with ease and security because they have the blessing of Ki-chan and the Emperor. Because the Emperor had given 'written orders to his people to aid all [their] wishes, and take no reward', they are free to take what they desire (*TR* 258). Therefore, they obtain, among other things, 'beautiful specimens' of many 'gorgeous flowers, yet unnamed by European botanists' (*TR* 309). Like Fortune, who introduced approximately two hundred species of plants to England after his trips to China, Rolando's friends collect many cases of specimens to be shipped back to Europe where they will be categorized and classified. In engaging in these tasks, they are following in the footsteps of numerous voyagers who had, since the eighteenth century, travelled to distant lands to conduct trade as well as to discover

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of China (1847), which was praised for making a 'substantial addition to knowledge of that country': 'Fortune's Residence among the Chinese', *Saturday Review*, 3 (1857), 550. For discussion on Fortune's works, see the chapter entitled 'Gathering in China: Robert Fortune' of Susan Schoenbauer Thurin, *Victorian Travelers and the Opening of China, 1842-1907* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1999) and Elizabeth Hope Chang, 'Garden, Plate, and Den: The Chinese Aesthetic in Nineteenth-Century British Literature and Visual Culture', (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2004). For more information about Fortune's life and travels to China, see Mary Gribbin, *Flower Hunters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 189-214. See also E. H. M. Cox, *Plant Hunting in China: A History of Botanical Exploration in China and the Tibetan Marches* (London: Oldbourne, [1961]); E. Bretschneider, *History of European Botanical Discoveries in China* (Leipzig: Zentral-Antiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1962).

[57] Recently interest in Fortune has resurged after a documentary about him was released: *Robert Fortune: The Tea Thief*, dir. by Diane Perelsztejn (Diane Perelsztejn & Co., 2001).

and survey natural resources.[58] In describing the group's travels, Bowman probably wished for her young readers to also engage in the discovery process, gathering knowledge about the resources available in China.

During their travels, Rolando's friends learn about Chinese plants such as *Nelumbium* (lotus), *Cronton sebiferum* (tallow tree), *Gossypium religiosum* (shrubby cotton), and *Bambusa* (bamboo). According to Bellanca, some believed that the use of scientific nomenclature in natural history writing 'connoted appropriate authority and credibility' while others found it was a sign of 'distasteful pomposity'.[59] In including the Latin names of the plants, Bowman may have been trying to boost her credibility as a popularizer of science. She may also have expected children to remember scientific plant names because nineteenth-century educators such as Alphonso Wood believed that memorizing scientific labels was an appropriate way to train children's minds in logic.[60] Perhaps this scientific nomenclature was included for the benefit of parents, because, according to *Letters from Spain*, a contemporary text by Arthur Kenyon, mothers read *The Travels of Rolando* to their children.[61]

Bowman seems to suggest that because Rolando and his friends are on a mission to 'diffuse, as well as to obtain knowledge' they can legitimately explore China, uncover all its secrets, and plunder all its riches (*TR* 207). China has remained closed for too long and would benefit greatly if it had contact with the

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[58] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 38.
[59] Bellanca, *Daybooks of Discovery*, p. 149.
[60] Wood was the author of *First Lessons in Botany: Designed for Common Schools in the United States* (1849). See Kaye Adkins, '"Foundation-Stones": Natural History for Children in St. Nicholas Magazine', in *Wild Things: Children's Culture and Ecocriticism*, ed. by Sidney I. Dobrin and Kenneth B. Kidd (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004), pp. 31-47 (p. 40).
[61] The narrator of the story states, 'I hear from your mamma that during the long evenings of the last severe winter she has been in the habit of reading to you some amusing and instructive book, and that you were much interested in listening to her. She tells me, however, that her supply of books, suited for you, is nearly exhausted; not only have "Robinson Crusoe," "Travels of Rolando," and many others of a similar kind been finished long ago [...]'. Arthur Kenyon, *Letters from Spain, His Nephews at Home* (London: Bentlby, 1853), p. v.

outside world, especially Europeans. Ki-chan, who had 'learned something of that profound knowledge of science which distinguishes those great nations', extols the value of science and promotes the opening of China, remarking: 'were I absolute in China, I would throw open the gates of her capital to the world. I would barter her riches for the inventions of science, the treasures of art, the hoards of learning possessed by other nations' (*TR* 160; 191). Ki-chan's use of the word 'barter' indicates that Bowman is advocating increased trade relations with Britain and an 'open door' policy which would make China's 'riches' available to the rest of the world. Although five treaty ports along the coast of China had recently been opened after the end of the First Opium War, the text suggests that China was still too insular and would benefit even more if the 'guarded gate of the jealous empire' was flung wide open for travellers and merchants to enter at their will (*TR* 248). However, Bowman also adheres to her role as 'moral teacher' by criticizing 'the excessive love of gain of the foreign merchants' at Canton which has 'increased the natural antipathy the Chinese feel towards all strangers' (*TR* 318-19).

Throughout *The Travels of Rolando*, heavy emphasis is placed on the pursuit of knowledge and characters are commended for their efforts in obtaining it. For example, Rolando and his friends have a 'love of knowledge' and Ki-chan possesses an 'ardent desire for knowledge' (*TR* 121; 288). Rolando and his friends wish to travel 'in order to acquire knowledge' and believe that 'God sent [them] to be active and inquiring in the world, that [they] may improve ourselves and all mankind, till the whole world has equal knowledge' (*TR* 28; 71). Rolando's statement echoes John F. W. Herschel's view that those 'who admire and love knowledge for its own sake ought to wish to see its elements made accessible to all, were it only that they may

be the more thoroughly examined into [...]'.[62] The importance of knowledge being accessible to everyone is stressed at the beginning of the novel when St. Kassian criticizes the fact that in ancient Egypt, 'knowledge was limited to the few, exclusively and jealously preserved by the priests and princes, and the people were but machines in their hands' (*TR* 3). He contrasts this with the current situation: 'education is spreading abroad, and will one day be diffused among all ranks, overthrowing the bulwarks of pride, and sweeping away the labyrinths of ignorance in its resistless course' (*TR* 3). For St. Kassian, the ultimate goal of diffusing knowledge widely was to make all men brethren, which can only be achieved when the 'moral and intellectual progress of the age' is combined with the 'blessed light of Christianity' to 'raise the condition of humanity' (*TR* 3-4). These statements reflect the Enlightenment ideal of progress and the belief that knowledge should be made public and distributed equally, not hoarded by the select few.[63] For example, French philosopher Condorect wrote in the 1790s that

> The love of truth, will naturally extend its regards, and convey its efforts to remote and foreign climes. These immense countries will afford ample scope for the gratification of this passion. In one place will be found a numerous people, who, to arrive at civilization, appear only to wait till we furnish them with the means; and who, treated as brothers by Europeans, would instantly become their friends and disciples. In another will be seen nations crouching under the yoke of sacred despots or stupid conquerors, and who, for so many ages, have looked for some friendly hand to deliver them.[64]

Therefore the legacy of Jauffret's Enlightenment spirit can be felt throughout

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[62] John F. W. Herschel, *A Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy*, new edn (London: Longman, 1840), p. 69.

[63] See Jeremy D. Popkin, 'Periodical Publication and the Nature of Knowledge in Eighteenth-Century Europe', in *The Shapes of Knowledge from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. by Donald R. Kelley and Richard H. Popkin (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1991), pp. 203-13 (p. 211).

[64] Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat, Marquis de Condorect, *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1988), p. 269; trans. as *Outlines of a History of the Progress of the Human Mind* (London: Johnson, 1795), p. 324. Quoted in Lynn Festa and Daniel Carey, 'Introduction: Some Answers to the Question: "What Is the Postcolonial Enlightenment?" in *The Postcolonial Enlightenment: Eighteenth-Century Colonialism and Postcolonial Theory*, ed. by Daniel Carey and Lynn Festa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 1-33 (p. 1).

Bowman's sequel.

Aware of 'the charm of fiction to youthful readers', Bowman chose the adventure story genre to 'blend lessons of useful knowledge and Christian truth with a narrative of adventure'.[65] What is considered 'useful knowledge' in Bowman's sequel? First, it is useful to have knowledge of botany because Ki-chan was able to survive in harsh conditions during his exile due to his ability to 'distinguish the fruits and roots of the earth which were wholesome' (*TR* 169). In addition to teaching Ki-chan's sister Fan-si Italian (she already speaks French), botany, and other 'useful knowledge', Louis Segnier wishes to 'inspire her with the same taste for natural history' that he possessed (*TR* 290). When discussing the manufacture of silk, the narrator comments that Fan-si 'evinced great wonder at her first introduction to this department of useful knowledge' (*TR* 291). These passages suggest that Victorian women were also encouraged to pursue knowledge, but within realms considered 'suitable' for females such as natural history, languages, and textiles. Although a 'shy and diffident man', Louis Segnier wins Fan-si's heart and takes her back to Europe with him as his wife, where it is assumed she will continue acquiring more 'useful knowledge' within the context of proper domesticity (*TR* 285).

Considering Bowman's emphasis on achieving 'equal' knowledge and her vocation as a female writer, it is not surprising that she would be very concerned about the education of Chinese women. In *The Boy Voyagers*, Bowman uses Miss Griffin, Minna's governess, to 'protest' against the 'despotism' over women in 'most eastern countries'.[66] Minna and Miss Griffin meet the 'tame and drowsy' wife and daughters of a Chinese merchant who seem to have 'no aim beyond that of dressing

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[65] Anne Bowman, *Esperanza; or, the Home of the Wanderers* (London: Routledge, 1855), n. pag.
[66] Bowman, *The Boy Voyagers*, p. 373.

themselves to the greatest advantage' (*BV* 373). Bowman warns about the dangers of cultural insularity when she describes the 'the placid women of China rejoicing in their luxurious indolence' (*BV* 374). After conversing with the women, who demonstrate the 'total absence of intellectual cultivation' by their 'uninteresting' conversation, Miss Griffin concludes that if the Chinese do not educate their women, there is no hope for 'the improvement and elevation of the character of the Chinese' (*BV* 373).[67] Like Lucy Aikin who advocated female education and rights for women, Bowman emphasizes the importance of education in making China a better country. According to Kathyrn Ready, some Enlightenment historians 'saw a direct correlation between the status of women and the state of society as a whole'.[68] For example, William Alexander asserts in *The History of Women* (1779) that 'the rank and condition, in which we find women in any country, mark out to us with the greatest precision, the exact point in the scale of civil society, to which the people of such country have arrived'.[69] In Bowman's view, the condition of Chinese women cannot compare with that of the British not only because they lack education, but also because of their bound feet, which Minna describes as 'odd-looking' and 'useless' (*BV* 374).

After meeting the Chinese women, Minna and Miss Griffin feel 'grateful that they had the freedom of thought, mental employment, and the perfect use of their limbs' (*BV* 374). Minna sympathizes with the foot-bound women, imagining that their feet must ache. In case her young readers were unfamiliar with the process of

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[67] Bowman misleads her readers when she describes Miss Griffin and Minna being able to communicate with the Chinese ladies with their little knowledge of Japanese, 'which is in some measure the same language as the Chinese' (373). By 1848, however, it had been established that Japanese was 'a well-formed polysyllabic language, without any resemblance to that of the Chinese': William Lawrence, *Lectures on Comparative Anatomy, Physiology, Zoology, and the Natural History of Man*, 9th edn (London: Bohn, [1840] 1848), pp. 322-23.
[68] Ready, 'The Enlightenment Feminist Project', 440.
[69] Quoted in Ready, 'The Enlightenment Feminist Project', 440. There was a Ladies' Society for the Promotion of Female Education in China, India, and the East set up in the first half of the nineteenth century.

foot-binding, Bowman provides a detailed description of how it is conducted: 'in infancy the toes are bent over and bandaged, the pressure increasing from year to year, till at last the ball of the foot fits into the hollow of the sole, and forms that shapeless mass' (*BV* 374).[70] Frank, who refers to the bound feet as 'hoofs', hopes that 'one of the first reforms the English introduce' will be 'the suppression of cruelty to the foot' (*BV* 374).[71] However, the first English anti-footbinding society was only established in 1874 by Rev. John Macgowan of the London Mission Society and such societies only became more active almost forty years after Bowman's book was published, when Alicia Little founded the Society for the Suppression of Foot-Binding (Natural Foot Society) in 1895.[72] There were many women like Alicia Little who criticized the plight of colonized women from a 'humanitarian' point of view.[73] In criticizing the Chinese custom of foot-binding and making readers aware of the Chinese women's need for education, Bowman is 'reinscrib[ing] the view that Britain was more civilized than other countries and had

[70] The process of foot-binding had been described in great detail earlier in a children's book. See *The World in Miniature, or, Panorama of the Costumes, Manners, & Customs, of All Nations* (London: Bysh, 1825). Bowman also touches upon the problem of foot-binding in her earlier novel *Travels of Rolando*. Fan-si 'frequently' regrets having 'small, deformed' feet after her 'acquaintance with European customs' (300). Therefore, one of the important things that Rolando and his friends do for China is to 'diffuse' knowledge about European customs so that Chinese women can know the freedom of movement that European women enjoy.
[71] Milne also refers to them as hoofs in *Life in China* but comments 'But for us to trace out any physical beauty in this odious cramping of the female foot, would be an impossibility equal to that which a Chinese would feel in trying to detect any beauty in the shocking squeezing of the waists of English women into taper forms': William Milne, *Life in China* (London: Routledge, 1857), p. 13. However, Bowman does not address the problem of corsets that Milne mentions, which some argue was equally detrimental to women's health. In a later book, foot-bound feet are an object of ridicule: 'Two little stumps,/Mere pedal lumps,/That toddle along with the funniest thumps,/In China, you know, are reckoned trumps./It seems a trifle, to make such a boast of it;/But how they will dress it, /And bandage and press it,/By making the least, to make the most of it!' John G. Saxe, 'Ho-Ho of the Golden Belt', *Clever Stories of Many Nations Rendered in Rhyme* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1865), pp. 119-26 (p. 120).
[72] For the history of foot-binding, see Hong Fan, *Footbinding, Feminism, and Freedom: The Liberation of Women's Bodies in Modern China* (Portland, OR: Cass, 1997). A leader in the campaign against foot-binding, Alicia Bewicke Little (1845-1926) published both fiction (*A Marriage in China*, 1896) and non-fiction (*Intimate China*, 1899) using the name Mrs Archibald Little. According to Drucker, Little had an interview with Macgowan and probably learned from his experiences. For more information about the role missionaries played in anti-footbinding, see Alison R. Drucker, 'The Influence of Western Women on the Anti-Footbinding Movement 1840-1911', *Historical Reflections*, 8.3 (1981), 179-99.
[73] Mills, 'Knowledge, Gender, and Empire', p. 42.

the right to act as a moral arbiter in such matters'.[74]

In both *The Travels of Rolando* and *The Boy Voyagers*, the Chinese landscape is presented as being charmingly picturesque. However, the depiction of the Chinese people in the two books differs dramatically. In *The Travels of Rolando*, the Chinese are 'admired' for their 'universal spirit of industry' and the Chinese characters are mostly intelligent and helpful, especially Ki-chan, 'a man of polished manners, extensive information, and great learning', who had travelled to Italy, France, Germany, and Russia when he was young and published statements condemning the 'evil system' in Russia (*TR* 191; 319; 161). When Rolando prepares to leave China, Ki-chan seeks permission from the emperor to travel to Europe to 'perfect himself in the knowledge of the languages, the useful arts and sciences, and the modes of government in the nations of Europe'. It is important to note, however, that he could only achieve this 'under [Rolando and his friends'] direction' (*TR* 288). Readers may have assumed that he would return to China to conduct reforms after 'perfecting' himself on the modes of government gleaned from European nations. However, according to Rolando, after Ki-chan arrives in England, he proposes to return to China 'occasionally' and 'enlighten with his experience his native land, but his habits and tastes are becoming every day more assimilated to those of the country we have adopted, and I trust we shall never lose him' (*TR* 399).

In *The Boy Voyagers*, Minna's assessment of the Chinese people is that they are 'simple, harmless' ('not cannibals'), but 'ugly', with 'long slits of eyes' that 'look so cunning' (*BV* 372). Their sailor friend Tom Heartley, who has previously visited China before, claims that it is a 'queer country' and that the Chinese are a 'rum lot' because they cheat (*BV* 178). An English merchant they meet tells them that although he has lived in China for twenty years, he 'cannot make a home among

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[74] Mills, 'Knowledge, Gender, and Empire', p. 42.

these unmannered scoundrels' (*BV* 378). Tom and his friends are involved in physical conflict with a 'mob' of opium-smoking Chinese 'idlers' over a picture in a shop that 'represented an English ship boarded by the gallant Chinamen, who were waving their swords, while the English barbarians, crouched at their feet, were holding up their hands to implore mercy' (*BV* 376). Enraged at this depiction, 'Tom abused the artists safely in English; but Mike, with Irish impetuosity, seized the obnoxious picture and tore it to pieces' (*BV* 376). Bowman's description of this incident simultaneously stereotypes the Chinese as 'piratical' and the Irish as impetuous (*BV* 376). As Claudia Nelson has argued, the wanderings of Walter and his friends 'permit Bowman to sort ethnic groups according to redemption potential' and the message conveyed in *The Boy Voyagers* is that 'all Britons are not spiritually equal [...]'.[75] Therefore, Irish Mike's actions demonstrate that he is not quite on the same level as the English sailor Tom.

It is not surprising that the characters in *The Boy Voyagers* leave China 'with little regret' because 'though the Chinese appeared to be a quiet people, and the land a fruitful land, none of them would choose to live amidst such perils and treacheries' (*BV* 382; 380). However, before they sail away, they manage to buy 'such Chinese curiosities as their purses could afford' (*BV* 381). Again, as in *The Travels of Rolando*, China is depicted as a treasure chest or a curiosity cabinet filled with wonderful objects that are available for the taking. Like the characters in *The Boy Voyagers*, Rolando and his friends also leave China 'without regret' (*TR* 319). He concludes that '[w]e had all enjoyed, in different degrees, our residence in this remarkable country, though we left it now, our curiosity being satisfied [...]' (*TR*

[75] Claudia Nelson, *Boys Will Be Girls: The Feminine Ethic and British Children's Fiction, 1857-1917* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991), pp. 121-22. She argues that Madismano, a Christian Japanese nobleman ranks higher than the Scottish Captain Mackay who refuses to extend the hand of brotherhood towards his countrymen (121). The Japanese fare much better than the Chinese in the book. According to Minna, the Japanese have more sense than the Chinese because they wear sombrero hats while the Chinese do not have covering over their heads under the sun.

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Although Rolando is originally from France, Bowman's explorers settle on a noble estate in one of England's most beautiful counties at the end of the book. Rolando confesses that though 'the spirit of adventure is not yet quenched', his friends 'unanimously declare they are satisfied to remain in a country where Art brings her wonders, and Nature her beauties, to your very feet; where a gentle sovereign rules lovingly a free people [...]' (*TR* 400). This echoes Rolando's father's commands at the beginning of the story, when he tells Rolando to 'go forth into the world, study the wonders of creation, mark the good and evil of life. If you be spared, return home, to contrast the comforts of that home with the miseries you will have seen, and to thank God for his mercy in placing you in a land of civilization, plenty, and peace' (*TR* 44). These statements reveal Bowman's second purpose in disseminating knowledge of the world to children: she wishes to instill a greater appreciation and love for Britain, which is depicted as the ideal place to be. In other words, Bowman could expand Old Humphrey's assertion that 'The more I tell you of the great empire of China, the more, I trust, you will like Great Britain' to: 'the more I tell you about the world, the more, I trust, you will like Great Britain'.[76] She uses China and other countries as points of comparison for children. The more they knew about other lands, the more they were able to use this knowledge to reflect back on Britain's position in the world and be grateful for the blessed land they were born in.

Bowman was exceptional for being one of the first female authors to have established a reputation for boy's adventure fiction. However, she was still operating within accepted gender norms, because her stories set in China reflect feminine

[76] Old Humphrey, *The Celestial Empire; or, Points and Pickings of Information About China and the Chinese* (London: Grant and Griffith, 1844), p. 3.

that financial difficulties compelled him to apply to the Royal Literary Fund for assistance three times.[80] In a letter of support addressed to the Fund, William Brough, Dalton's friend from the Savage Club, states that Dalton's 'unique' books demonstrate 'immense research' and that he was 'the first romance writer to open the rich mines of legendary and historic lore in the gigantic empires of the far East'.[81] In 1888, *The Times* praised his books for being 'useful manuals of Oriental geography, history, and archaeology'.[82]

Published in 1857, *The Wolf Boy of China; or Incidents and Adventures in the Life of Lyu-Payo* was Dalton's first children's book.[83] On the inscription page, Dalton identifies the novel as a 'book for boys' and dedicates it to his son. Perhaps in an attempt to broaden the potential readership, publishers reprinted the book under the title *John Chinaman; or, Adventures in Flowery Land* in 1858.[84] Besides *The Wolf Boy*, Dalton published two other books on China: *The War Tiger; or, Adventures and Wonderful Fortunes of the Young Sea Chief and His Lad Chow: A Tale of the Conquest of China* (1858) and *The Wasps of the Ocean; or, Little Waif and the Pirate of the Eastern Seas: A Romance of Travel and Adventure in China and Siam* (1864).

In contrast to *The Travels of Rolando* and *The Boy Voyagers*, *The Wolf Boy of*

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include *The English Boy in Japan; or, The Perils and Adventures of Mark Raffles among Princes, Priests, and People, of that Singular Empire* (1858), *Lost in Ceylon: in the Woods and the Wilds of the Lion King of Kandy* (1861), and *The Nest Hunters; or, Adventures in the Indian Archipelago* (1863).

[80] The Royal Literary Fund was established in 1790 to provide financial assistance for published authors in financial difficulties. For more information, see Janet Adam Smith, *The Royal Literary Fund, 1790-1990* (London: Royal Literary Fund, [1990?]); Nigel Cross, *The Royal Literary Fund, 1790-1918: An Introduction to the Fund's History and Archives, with an Index of Applicants* (London: World Microfilms Publications, 1984).

[81] William Brough, 'Letter to the General Committee of the Royal Literary Fund', in *Archives of the Royal Literary Fund, 1790-1918* (London: World Microfilm Publications, 1982).

[82] 'Christmas Books', *The Times*, 8 December 1888, p. 15.

[83] The second edition published by E. Marlborough lists the title as *The Wolf Boy of China. A Chinese Story: Being the Adventures of Lyu-Payo among Merchants, Mandarins, Soldiers, Sailors, and People both Wild and Civilized.*

[84] William Dalton, *John Chinaman: or, Adventures in Flowery Land* (Boston: Crosby and Nichols, 1858).

China received many reviews, almost all of them positive. Reviewers showered accolades on the book and recommended it for adults as well as children. For example, the *Morning Herald* stated that 'though designed for boys, we can testify that it has charms for old as well as young'.[85] In a letter written to the Royal Literary Fund on 3 November 1863, Dalton himself declares that although many of his works are 'written ostensibly for youth', they 'attained a considerable popularity among all ages'. He attributes his books' mass-market appeal to 'the simple fact that each, in addition to its story, contains a mass of information historical, religious, legendary and otherwise connected with the hitherto but little known and less understood Empire of the East, not easily to be found elsewhere'.[86] His statement suggests that although there may have already been many volumes written about China by Jesuits and other specialists, these books were too erudite for the general public.

Most of the contemporary reviews assert that the book is worth reading for its facts about China, especially the 'strange customs' and 'peculiarities of the Chinese', which 'are so unlike anything in this western world'.[87] A reviewer of *The Wolf Boy of China* in *The Observer* claimed, 'A more interesting and more complete collection, *in petto*, of all that has been known of China and the Chinese does not exist in the English language'.[88] In labelling the work as a 'complete' collection of 'all' that has been known of China, the reviewer is assessing the book based the standards set during the 'spirit of encyclopaedism'. Similarly, *The London Journal*

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[85] This quote comes from an advertisement for *The Wolf Boy of China* in 'Books Published by E. Marlborough and Co', (1866) found in Annie Ward, *My Mother, or Home Scenes in Yorkshire* (London: Marlborough, 1866). Jewsbury recommends it 'not only for young readers, but for those of larger growth': Geraldine Endsor Jewsbury, 'The Wolf-Boy of China', *Athenaeum*, 1562 (1857), 1238. The *Morning Advertiser* stated that the book 'has high claims upon the perusal of both young people and adults': 'The Wolf Boy of China', *Morning Advertiser*, 8 October 1857, p. 7.

[86] William Dalton, 'Letter to the General Committee of the Royal Literary Fund', in *Archives of the Royal Literary Fund, 1790-1918* (London: World Microfilm Publications, 1982).

[87] 'The Wolf-Boy of China', *Bentley's Miscellany Review*, 42 (1857), 424; Jewsbury, 'The Wolf-Boy of China', 1238; 'Notice of Books: The Wolf-Boy of China', *New Englander and Yale Review* 17.66 (1859), 571.

[88] 'A "Wonder Book" on China', *The Times*, 11 September 1858, p. 9.

commented that Dalton 'succeeded in imparting such a mass of valuable information on manners, customs, legends, geography, and history of the strange people' of China.[89] As one critic observes, the Great Exhibition of 1851 'inspired and compelled the production of numerous narrative and cataloguing texts' that 'ordered the event' and 'gave meanings to its displays [...]'.[90] Dalton may have been inspired by the Great Exhibition and the Ten Thousand Chinese Things exhibition to create his own 'exhibition catalogue' of China. In fact, some of the information included about China in the novel comes from William B. Langdon's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Collection*, suggesting that Dalton probably visited the exhibition.[91] The cover of the German edition (see Figure 3), which features a decorated Chinese arch, invites the reader to enter into the 'museum of China' by physically opening the pages. In *The Wolf Boy of China*, Dalton guides readers through China as if it was a large museum exhibition, filled with 'a mass of information' about the 'strange' customs and manners of the Chinese. Dalton's novel serves as a vehicle for 'displaying' an exotic China: festivals such as the moon festival, Feast of Flowers, and Feast of Lanterns are described in detail; as well as activities that range from cricket baiting to coal burning.[92]

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[89] This quote comes from an advertisement for *The Wolf Boy of China* in Annie Ward's *My Mother, or Home Scenes in Yorkshire* (1866).

[90] Lara Kriegel, 'Narrating the Subcontinent in 1851: India at the Crystal Palace', in *The Great Exhibition of 1851: New Interdisciplinary Essays*, ed. by Louise Purbrick (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 127-49.

[91] For example, the reference to 'ya-yuh' (police) on page 173 can be found in the catalogue on page 32. Information about the Tan-hoo people on page 21 comes from page 70 of the catalogue William B. Langdon, *Ten Thousand Chinese Things: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Collection, Now Exhibiting at St. George's Place, Hyde Park Corner, with Condensed Accounts of the Genius, Government, History, Literature, Agriculture Arts, Trade, Manners, Customs, and Social Life of the People of the Celestial Empire*, 19th English edn (London: Printed for the Proprieter, 1842). For an American visitor's response to the 'Ten Thousand Chinese Things' exhibit, see Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, 'Between "Crockery-Dom" and Barnum: Boston's Chinese Museum, 1845-47', *American Quarterly*, 56.2 (2004), 271-307 (p. 289) .

[92] Dalton's descriptions of the moon festival and Feast of Flowers are derived from Huc's *Travels in Tartary*, I, p. 62 and II, p. 32. For cricket baiting, see Evariste Regis Huc, *The Chinese Empire: A Sequel to Recollections of a Journey through Tartary and Thibet*, 2 vols (London: Longmans, 1855), II, p. 330, and Davis, *The Chinese*, I, p. 317. Earlier in 1817, the Feast of Lanterns had been explained in J. B. Depping, *Evening Entertainments, or, Delineations of the Manners and Customs of*

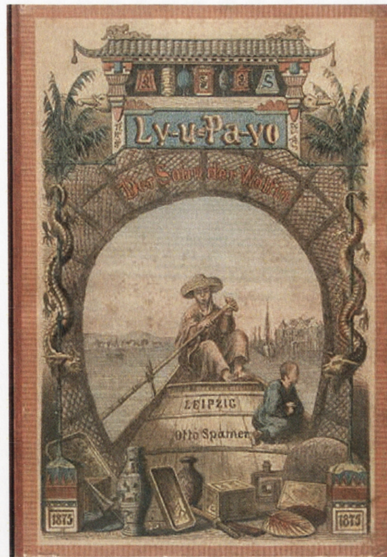

Figure 3: Front cover of 1875 German edition of *The Wolf Boy of China*[93]

The Wolf Boy of China, set during the years after the first Opium War (1839-42), possibly during the Miao rebellion (1854-73), which was a series of serious revolts that raged for almost twenty years in the province of Guizhou, features a half-British, half-Miao hero named Herbert Richardson, better known as Lyu Payo.[94]

Various Nations, Interspersed with Geographical Notices Historical & Biographical Anecdotes, & Descriptions in Natural History. Designed for the Instruction & Amusement of Youth, 2nd edn (London: Hailes, 1817), pp. 56-57. For the importance of museums in children's literature, see Barbara J. Black, 'An Empire's Great Expectations: Museums in Imperialist Boy Fiction', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 21.2 (1999), 235-58.

[93] *Ly-u Pa-yo, Der Sohn Der Wölfin. Abenteuer, Natur- Und Sittenschilderungen, Kriegs- Und Friedensbilder Aus Dem Reich Der Mitte*, 2nd edn (Leipzig: Spamer, 1875). Image from Abenteuerliteratur für Jugendliche 2009; <http://www.abenteuerroman.info/tafeln/08/08dat/07/130204d.htm> [accessed 9 September 2009]. An earlier German edition was pubished in 1859. William Dalton and Johannes Ziethen, *Lyu-Payo, Der Wolfssohn: Abenteuer, Natur- U. Sittenschilderungen, Kriegs- Und Friedensbilder Aus Dem Reiche Der Mitte* (Leipzig: Spamer, 1859).

[94] The narrator informs his readers that 'But for this war, I should very probably have had nothing to tell you about Lyu, the Wolf-Boy, whose adventures came about as I will now relate': William Dalton, *The Wolf Boy of China; or, Incidents and Adventures of Lyu-Payo* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, [1857] 1884), p. 14. Further references to this book are given after quotations in the text. The Miao are an ethnic minority in south China. For more information on the Miao, see Robert D. Jenks, *Insurgency and Social Disorder in Guizhou: The 'Miao' Rebellion, 1854-1873* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994). Although labelled the 'Miao' rebellion, other ethnic groups other ethnic groups around the Yunnan area such as the Bouyei and the Hui, and even some Han Chinese participated in it. For more information on the Bouyei and Hui, see Colin Mackerras and Amanda Yorke, *The Cambridge Handbook of Contemporary China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 205-14. According to Jenks, factors that contributed to the rebellion include 'adverse ecological conditions, which led to increased competition for resources and to frequent substance crises; a frontier environment and the mentality it spawned; government abuses and maladministration; communal frictions; and millenarian folk religion' (172). Most importantly, Jenks identifies the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64) as a 'powerful stimulus' for the Miao rebellion because the 'Taiping not only caused the government to raise taxes and pull troops out of provinces like

His father, Captain Richardson, is an English officer-turned-merchant, and his mother, Sang, is a Miao princess. One day Lyu is kidnapped by Tartar child-stealers and his father falls into the river after being stabbed by one of the thieves. After searching futilely for Richardson's body, Tchin offers to adopt Lyu and Sang as his children and takes them to Peking to live with his brother Hieul and sister-in-law Chang, who secretly plot to get rid of them. Hieul's hopes for monetary gain are realized during the Feast of Lanterns, when he seizes the opportunity to take Lyu out alone after Tchin falls ill. Hieul sells Lyu to a bonze (Buddhist priest) who takes him to Kounboum [Kumbum, in historic Tibet, near Xining].[95] Lyu manages to escape from the city and overcomes many difficulties to be reunited with his family.

The novel is significant for several reasons. First, it is one of the earliest full-length Victorian children's novels set in China that investigates the complexity and fluidity of mixed-race identity and identity formation through reading. Not only is it rare to find a mixed-race hero in nineteenth-century children's fiction, but few Victorian texts, not to mention children's books, deal with the complicated issues

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Guizhou, but they showed the Qing regime to be vulnerable' (9). An estimated 4,900,000 people out of a population of 7,000,000 died in the Miao Rebellion (3). Siu-Woo Cheung dates the Miao insurrection as 1854-72: Siu-Woo Cheung, 'Millenarianism, Christian Movements, and Ethnic Change among the Miao in Southwest China', in *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers*, ed. by Stevan Harrell (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), pp. 217-47.

[95] Sold for fifty taels by Hieul, Lyu Payo must accompany his 'master' to the holy town of Kounboum, because the bonze had 'promised the Grand Lama of Kounboum to procure a boy, of fair looks, who might prove an ornament to the priesthood of sacred Buddha' (83). According to Thomas Richards, Tibet is regarded as a utopia (Shangrila) in late Victorian literature. See Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993), pp. 12-24. However, both Bowman and Dalton portray it as a terrible place. In Rolando's eyes, Lassa is a 'strange town' and Kounboum is an 'idolatrous city' full of 'pomp, ignorance, and deceit': Bowman, *Rolando*, pp. 279; 277. To illustrate the 'deceit' of the city, Bowman paraphrases a scene described in Huc's *Travels in Tartary* involving a 'revolting ceremony' where a Lama Bokte kills himself and revives. According to Rolando's informant, the ceremony is 'only practised by the inferior lamas; but tolerated and even encouraged by the more intelligent, as a powerful engine to work on the vulgar. Our informant positively declared that the bokte, after reciting many prayers, was dreadfully convulsed; his companions also became fearfully agitated, singing and shrieking. In the midst of the tumult, the bokte threw open his breast, seized the sacred knife, and ripped open his body; a great flow of blood followed; and the deluded people rushed forward to ask questions, for the bokte was now become oracular, and could solve any doubt relating to the past or the future. Then the performer passed his hand over the wound, and rose, quite restored': Bowman, *Rolando*, pp. 276-77. This passage is almost identical to pages 244-45 in Volume I of Huc's *Travels in Tartary*.

addressed in *The Wolf Boy of China*, such as the role of women, issues of religion, and, most notably that of racial tensions between the Han Chinese and other ethnic minorities such as the Si-fan [Xifan], Tartars, and Miao.[96] Secondly, the author's depiction of Lyu Payo's reading reveals Victorian attitudes towards the 'ideal' child reader. Thirdly, one is able to reconstruct the author's reading about China from his novel, shedding light on the question of who was reading these numerous texts on China and what they did with the information. Fourth, although initially priced at five shillings, making it unaffordable for most British working-class families, and thus limiting its potential audience, the book was published in the United States and went into many editions, including a German translation, indicating its readership expanded to encompass Germans and Americans.[97]

Having never travelled to China, Dalton relied on various sources to create an 'encyclopaedic' picture of the place. According to a reviewer in the *Literary Gazette*, '[Dalton] does not give his authorities in detail, but he seems to have had access to the best sources of information [...]'.[98] Although Dalton did not specify all of his sources, in comparing sections of his novel with other books on China, one is able to recreate a picture of his reading. From the sources that Dalton consulted, 'chains' of readers dating back to the seventeenth century can be identified. For example, the

[96] According to Lee, 'Si-fan is the name applied to the nomadic Tibetans who occupied the large expanse of grassland situated at the headwaters of the Yellow River, the Min River, and the Chin-ch'uan River (the present Ahpa Tibetan Autonomous Chou)': Robert H. G. Lee, 'Frontier Politics in the Southwestern Sino-Tibetan Borderlands During the Ch'ing Dynasty', in *Perspectives on a Changing China: Essays in Honor of Professor C. Martin Wilbur on the Occasion of His Retirement* ed. by Joshua A. Fogel and William T. Rowe (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1979), pp. 35-68 (p. 36). According to *The Natural History of the Varieties of Man* (1850), 'The word Si means west, whilst Fan means stranger; so that Si-fan means western strangers. The term means one or more of the wilder tribes on the Tibetan or Mongolian frontier': R. G. Latham, *The Natural History of the Varieties of Man* (London: Van Voorst, 1850), p. 24. In Dalton's time, the word Tartar referred to the Manchus, the rulers of the Chinese Empire.
[97] WorldCat lists ten editions of the book. The second edition published by E. Marlborough lists the title as *The Wolf Boy of China. A Chinese Story: Being the Adventures of Lyu-Payo among Merchants, Mandarins, Soldiers, Sailors, and People both Wild and Civilized.* By 1860 it had already gone into its third edition.
[98] 'Publications Received', *Literary Gazette*, 24 October 1857, p. 1022.

story 'Hope for the Unfortunate and Lowly' that Lyu reads in his Book of History links Dalton to Julia Corner, because as can be seen in Table 1, Dalton's stories are almost identical to Corner's in *The History of China*:[99]

Table 1

Corner	Dalton
A poor boy named Lieouyu, born in the **city of Nanking**, had been left a destitute **orphan** at a very early age [...] **an old woman, who took compassion on him, brought him up as her own. As soon as he was old enough he learned to make shoes** (33)	[...] born, in the **city of Nankin, a poor boy, named Lieou-yu** [...] left him an **orphan**... but for the care of **an old woman, who took compassion on him, and brought him up as her own son** [...] **As soon** as Lieou-yu **was old enough, he learned to make shoes** (87)
There was a poor labourer in the province of Nanking, who had a son named Choo, a lad whose constitution was so delicate that he was quite unfit for hard work, his father therefore **placed him in one of the monasteries, to be brought up by the Bonzes, with a view to his becoming a member of that order** (62)	**There was a poor labourer in the province of Nankin, who had a son named Choo-- a lad whose constitution was so delicate that he was quite unfit for hard work**. His father, therefore, **placed him in one of the monasteries to be brought up by the bonzes, with a view to his becoming a member of that order** (88-89)

Another link can be added to this chain of readers, because Corner's stories bear resemblance to Charles Gutzlaff's descriptions of the emperors of the new dynasties in *A Sketch of Chinese History* (1834). For example, Gutzlaff writes: 'The founder of this dynasty was the **son of a poor laborer**; his name was **Choo**-yuen-chang [...]. Being of a **very weak constitution**, and **unfit for work**, he was sent to the priests at the Hwang-keo-sze temple'.[100] Although Gutzlaff's *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China* (1834) stirred up a 'China craze' and prompted much discussion about 'free-trade' in the 1830s, the fact that it was priced at twelve shillings meant

[99] Julia Corner, *The History of China & India: Pictorial & Descriptive* (London: Washbourne, 1847). A popular writer of educational literature, including Miss Corner's Historical Library (1840-48), Julia Corner (1798-1875) was praised by her contemporaries for her 'easy and unaffected' writing and 'pleasing and graceful' style: 'The History of China; Pictorial and Descriptive', *Monthly Critic*, 12 (1843), 101-02.

[100] Charles Gutzlaff, *A Sketch of Chinese History, Ancient and Modern: Comprising a Retrospect of the Foreign Intercourse and Trade with China*, 2 vols (London: Smith, Elder, 1834), I, p. 399.

its circulation was limited among the majority of the British public.[101] In tracing the chain of readers back to Gutzlaff's other work *A Sketch of Chinese History*, we can see how within the space of twenty years, the information provided in a text that would have only been purchased by historians, missionaries, or others with a special interest in China had now reached a wider mass audience of children and their parents who may not have read Gutzlaff in the past.

Gutzlaff's *Journal of Three Voyages* mentions a poor boy named Che-yin who 'read his book by the light of a glow-worm'.[102] Similarly, Lyu also reads with the aid of a glow-worm. Although Lyu's heart 'leap[s] for joy' when he sees the book he purchased at the Feast of Lanterns and looks forward to time 'pass[ing] away merrily' while reading, he cannot start reading immediately, because the cave where he is spending the night is pitch-dark (86). Luckily he soon notices a glow-worm, thinks it will make 'a capital lamp', and placing it on top of the pages, lay himself 'full length on the floor' to read (87). Dalton's familiarity with the glow-worm story most likely came from reading Corner's book, for she writes under the heading 'Juvenile Tales' about a boy forced to miss school to toil in the fields all day because his family was poor. They were so impoverished that the studious boy did not even have a lamp to read at night, so he decided to bring home a glow-worm every evening, which provided 'sufficient light' for him to read. He 'acquired so much knowledge that in course of time he became a minister of state, and supported his parents with ease and comfort in their old age'.[103] Unlike the poor boy, Lyu in *The Wolf Boy of China* comes from an affluent family. However, in including the detail of the glow-worm in his depiction of Lyu's reading, Dalton may be simultaneously

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[101] Tsao, 'A Reading of Readings', p. 50.
[102] Charles Gutzlaff, *Journal of Three Voyages Along the Coast of China, in 1831, 1832, & 1833, with Notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo-Choo Islands* (London: Westley and Davis, 1834), p. xvii. See also Charles Toogood Dowing, *The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7*, 3 vols (London: Colburn, 1838), III, p. 254.
[103] Corner, *The History of China*, p. 50.

emphasizing Lyu's studious nature and encouraging his child readers to emulate the boy. His delight in reading contrasts greatly with Richard Altick's assertion that many nineteenth-century schoolchildren, subject to ineffective interrogative pedagogical methods, regarded reading as an unenjoyable task.[104]

Lyu finds comfort in reading about how Tait-song [Taizong] and Tait-sou [Taizu], the first emperors of the Song and Ming dynasties, faced many challenges and difficulties before they succeeded, because at this point in the story, he has been sold to the bonze. Through his solitary reading, Lyu is able to retreat to a private mental space where he finds solace and encouragement. After reading 'Hope for the Unfortunate and Lowly', Lyu thinks,

> Heaven has a great good in store for me if I endeavour to deserve it; indeed, who knows but that some day I may find my mother's people, the brave Miao-tse? who even now may be waiting for some great leader to rise up, and show them how to drive these Tartars out of the country again, like the great Tait-sou. (89-90)

In identifying with the trials and tribulations of the emperors and their subsequent successes, Lyu equates himself with nobility, and readers are reminded that his mother is a princess. Although 'every possible means of extracting money from the pockets of the holiday-folks' existed during the Feast of Lanterns, the only money Lyu spent was on the book, proving that he was not easily tempted by the numerous distractions offered by vendors but an assiduous bibliophile who used his money wisely (64). His love of reading reinforces an earlier statement made by his teacher that he had the potential to become 'a great Chinese scholar' or a minister of state and also echoes Corner's story about the boy reading with a glow-worm who became a minister of state (47). Arduous hours spent on reading and studying in order to pass the prestigious Hanlin Academy's entrance exams was a means of social mobility in China. Dalton's description of Lyu's reading suggests that reading

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[104] Richard Daniel Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 151.

is an important element of personal development, particularly in countries where social elevation could be achieved through education. Lyu is therefore constructed as an 'ideal' reader for British children who takes 'lessons' away from a text.

It is clear that readers were expected to learn something from *The Wolf Boy of China*, because when they opened the 1884 edition of the book, they would have noticed a Chinese proverb on its title page: 'something is learned every time a book is opened'. In addition to this proverb, each of the chapter titles adorned by a Chinese adage and many others are interspersed throughout the text.[105] Although Dalton does not specify his source, all of these proverbs are taken from Sir John Francis Davis's *The Chinese* (1836) and *Sketches of China* (1841), two critically acclaimed works that became popular among the general population because, according to the *Saturday Review*, they were 'readable' and 'easily accessible to the English public'.[106] Therefore, it is not surprising that Dalton read Davis's books while researching his novel.

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[105] Some of the Chinese proverbs, such as 'the gem cannot be polished without friction, no man perfected without trails' and 'if men will have no care for the future, they will soon have sorrow for the present', are selected from famous Chinese classics such as the *Confucian Analects* and the *Three Character Classic*. Others, such as 'a hunter's dog will at last die a violent death', are more obscure. Readers will find some proverbs familiar, such as 'to contrive is man's part: to accomplish is heaven's'. Jewsbury praises these proverbs as 'an addition to our stock of proverbial philosophy': Jewsbury, 'The Wolf-Boy of China', 1238. Missionaries and scholars worked hard to master the Chinese language and used their expertise to produce several translations of Chinese works. Readers could acquaint themselves with Chinese words of wisdom by perusing William Scarborough's *A Collection of Chinese Proverbs*, Davis's *Chinese Moral Maxims*, and M. Perny's *Proverbes Chinois*. The *Juvenile Missonary Magazine* and *Child's Companion and Juvenile Instructor* also featured articles about Chinese proverbs. See for example 'English and Chinese Proverbs Compared', *Juvenile Missionary Magazine*, IV.33 (1847), 45; 'Chinese Proverbs', *Juvenile Missionary Magazine*, IV.34 (1847), 65; 'Chinese Sayings', *Child's Companion and Juvenile Instructor*, (1859), 125-27.

[106] The proverbs were taken from volume 2 of both works. 'The Chinese', *Saturday Review*, 25 July 1857, p. 87. Davis's obituary in the *Academy* claims that *The Chinese* 'has not been superseded—especially as regards to its account of the popular literature—by the subsequent labours of Wells Williams and Gray': 'Obituary: Sir John Francis Davis, Bart', *Academy*, 38.968 (1890), 475-76. Samuel Wells Williams (1812-1884) was an American Protestant missionary who wrote a widely-read account on China—*The Middle Kingdom* (1848). The book, which was based on not only personal experiences but also derived from the tremendous amount of information published in the *Chinese Repository*, went into many editions and became one of the most famous works providing a general description of life in China. J. H. Gray (1828-1890), who served as the Archdeacon of Hong Kong, possessed a good colloquial knowledge of Chinese, was well-acquainted with the gentry of Canton, and published *China: A History of the Laws, Manners and Customs of the People* (1878).

Lyu is known as the 'wolf-boy' because his mother's family is 'a brave race, who live among the mountains, in the province of Kwei-chou, and are called by themselves the Miao-tse, but by the rest of the Chinese people, wolf-men and women' (15).[107] Considering that the novel was published in 1857, Dalton may have been inspired to make Lyu the son of a Miao princess after reading an 1853 article in *The Times* entitled 'The History of the Chinese Insurrection' because his description of the Miao sounds strikingly similar to the following passage:

> In the most distant of these mountains dwell the race of the Miao-tze, a community of whom the majority of our readers probably never heard until the name appeared in the accounts that have reached us of the rebellion [...].The Miao-tzes are the horror of the civilized Chinese, who call them wolf-men.[108]

One day Lyu is kidnapped by child-stealers. According to the sedan carriers who were attempting to bring Lyu home,

> they had been pounced upon by a dozen of the *Chao-chow,* a people half pirates, half fishermen, who cried aloud for the miserable little *Yaou-jin, Lang-jin*, that is, dog-man, wolf-man, to be given up to them to kill, because his mother had married a red-bristled barbarian, and that the *Chao-chow* then knocked them down, took the boy out of the sedan, and ran with him towards the Floating Town on the river. (19-20)[109]

His father saves him but falls into the river after being stabbed by one of the culprits. After Tchin brings Lyu and Sang to Peking, they live in relative peace until his brother Hieul receives news that the Miao have rebelled against the Emperor and that a proclamation has been made that 'fifty pieces of silver shall be given for the head of every Wolf-dog, man, woman, or child' (50).When Hieul's wife Chang discovers that Sang is a Miao and reveals the secret to her husband, he responds incredulously, exclaiming, 'this cannot be—for have you not heard that these Wolf

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[107] Miao actually means 'sprout' and tse [zi] means 'son' or 'child'.

[108] 'The History of the Chinese Insurrection', *The Times*, 25 August 1853, p. 9.

[109] Dalton may have obtained the terms *Yaou-jin* and *Lang-jin* from a 1831 article in the *Canton Miscellany*: 'In the Chinese accounts they are mentioned under various denominations, such as the Yaou or mountain Dogs who inhabit part of Kwang-tung and Kwang-se, a race gravely described by Chinese authors as having tails like monkeys, the Lang-jin or wolfish people, and many other names, generally expressive of the fear and aversion with which they are regarded': 'Observations on the Meaou-Tsze Mountaineers', *Canton Miscellany*, 3 (1831), 198-206 (p. 198). Although Dalton calls the Miao-tse 'wolf' people, he uses the term *Yaou-jin* (dog people) instead of *Lang-jin*.

savages have their feet shod, and wear tails like cattle?' (53). His statement echoes another passage in *The Times* article which explains that 'It is a firm belief in Pekin that they wear tails, and that when a Miao-tze is born the sole of the child's foot is cauterized, in order to harden it and to render the owner incapable of fatigue'.[110] The information on the Miao that Dalton imparts is actually 'third-hand information', because according to the article's footnote, it is derived from Callery and Yvan's *L'Insurrection en Chine; depuis son origine jusqu'a la prise de Nankin* (1853). Translated into English by John Oxenford that same year as *History of the Insurrection in China*, it was one of the first books to focus on the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64).[111]

Dalton deliberately allows his characters to travel all over China through provinces such as Guangdong, Gansu, Sichuan, and Guizhou so that he can introduce various Chinese cities, landscapes, and landmarks such as the Great Wall, the Imperial Canal, Canton, and Peking. Dalton transfers the 'spirit of encyclopaedism' into China when he describes the 'fresh butter exhibition' at the Feast of Flowers where 'there were historical and ethnographical portraits of all the different races [...]. Then there was an account of the animal kingdom done in fresh butter, exhibiting specimens of tigers, wolves, wild boars, foxes; the coats and fur of the different creatures being so admirably imitated that Lyu almost believed them to be real' (184).[112] It can be argued that in disseminating staggering amounts of 'facts'

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[110] 'The History of the Chinese Insurrection', p. 9.

[111] Joseph-Marie Callery was a former missionary and interpreter to the French embassy in China and Melchior Yvan a physician of the embassy. J. M. Callery and Melchior Yvan, *History of the Insurrection in China, with Notices of the Christianity, Creed and Proclamations of the Insurgents*, trans. by John Oxenford (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1853).

[112] His source is Vol. II of *Travels in Tartary*: 'The furs were especially good. The various skins of the sheep, the tiger, the fox, the wolf, etc., were so admirably rendered, that you felt inclined to go and feel them with the hand, and ascertain whether, after all, they were not real': Huc, *Travels in Tartary*, p. 35. Although Dalton does not describe the different races, Huc does: 'The other personages had all the Mongol type, which the Thibetian, Chinese, Si-Fan, and Tartar shadings, so nicely discriminated that, without any reference whatever to the costume, you recognized at once to

about China, Dalton wanted to empower his readers to become active participants in the quest for knowledge and understand more about China's place in Britain's expanding empire.

Dalton's main unacknowledged source of information on China was the four-volume *Description geographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* (1735) by French Jesuit historian Jean-Baptiste Du Halde (1674-1734), who was responsible for editing missionary reports for *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.*[113] Considered the most authoritative source on China until well into the nineteenth century, this work was translated into English not long after its publication. As critics have pointed out, eighteenth and nineteenth-century writers who wished to delve into the topic of China could 'legitimately' borrow from the works of Du Halde and did not have to worry about being accused of plagiarism if they quoted passages from the books without acknowledgment.[114] British writers could consult two English translations of Du Halde's work, Richard Brookes's *The General History of China* (1736) and Green and Guthrie's *A Description of China* (1738-41). The most direct evidence of Dalton

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what particular tribe each individual belonged. There were a few heads of Hindoos and negroes, excellently represented': Huc, *Travels in Tartary*, p. 35.

[113] According to Mungello, the 'first nine volumes (1702-08) [of *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*] were published under the direction of Le Gobien, the Jesuit procurator of the China mission at Paris, while du Halde oversaw the publication of volumes 9-26 (1709-43)': D. E. Mungello, 'Confucianism in the Enlightenment: Antagonism and Collaboration between Jesuits and the Philosophes', in *China and Europe: Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by Thomas H. C. Lee (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1991), pp. 99-128 (p. 113). For more information about the Jesuits, see Nicolas Standaert, 'Jesuit Corporate Culture as Shaped by the Chinese', in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. by J. W. O'Malley, G. A. Bailey, S. J. Harris and T. F. Kennedy (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), pp. 352-62; Mason, *Western Concepts of China and the Chinese*, pp. 6-11. See also Chapter Three of Raymond Stanley Dawson, *The Chinese Chameleon: An Analysis of European Conceptions of Chinese Civilization* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967).

[114] T. C. Fan, 'Percy and Du Halde', *The Review of English Studies*, 21.84 (1945), 326-29 (p. 328), Qian Zhongshu, 'China in the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century', in *The Vision of China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by Adrian Hsia (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1998), pp. 117-213 (p. 120). For more information on Du Halde, see Theodore Nicholas Foss, 'A Jesuit Encyclopedia for China: A Guide to Jean-Baptiste Du Halde's "Description...De La Chine" (1735)', (unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1979).

having read Brookes's translation lies in the names Lyu Payo, Hieul, and Tchin, which all come from a Chinese story that appears in volume 3 of *The General History of China.* Dalton alters the spelling of one of the characters in 'The Practice of Virtue Renders a Family Illustrious' named Liu pao ('Liu the Treasure') to Lyu Payo and explains it means '*Lyu the Treasurer*', because Sang 'had resolved that her boy should be the treasurer of all her happiness' (16). Dalton also borrows from the plot line, making Tchin a kind merchant like the Tchin in the story, while basing Hieul's wicked behaviour on Liu pao's dubious conduct.

Like Dalton, Du Halde, who lived in Paris all his life, did not have first-hand experience of China and relied on various sources for information on the country. He gathered information mostly from corresponding with Jesuit missionaries in China, reading their memoirs, conversing with them when they returned, or editing their reports. For example, Du Halde notes that he derived 'The Practice of Virtue Renders a Family Illustrious' from the work of Jesuit Père D'Entrecolles (1664 - 1741), who travelled to China as a missionary in the late 1600s.[115] Therefore, the chain of readers can be traced back to Père D'Entrecolles reading a Chinese text and translating it into French, Du Halde reading it and incorporating it into his French text, Richard Brookes translating it into English, and Dalton reading the English translation. With each reading and rewriting, layers of meaning are added to the text.

Another example of a chain of readers can be reconstructed from the story of Lyu's first meeting with the bonze, who remains nameless throughout the novel, and is portrayed as a greedy, devious, cowardly liar with no conscience. During the Feast of Lanterns, Lyu notices a crowd gathered around 'half-naked man' in a chair resembling a hencoop with bars of bamboo and nails, 'in such a position that at each movement of the chair his flesh became pierced by the nails'. The bonze persuades

[115] Du Halde, *The General History of China*, III, pp. 44-45.

the spectators to 'buy any of these sacred nails' because 'the act will become a source of happiness in [their] houses' (66). This incident is also derived from *The General History of China* where Du Halde quotes Père Le Comte's observations of a 'young brisk Bonze' who

> stood upright in a close Chair stuck all over on the inside with the sharp points of nails [...]. I am, said he, shut up in this Chair for the good of your souls, and am resolved never to go out till all the nails are bought [...] every nail is worth six-pence, and yet there is not one of them but what will become a source of happiness in your houses.[116]

Jesuit mathematician Louis Le Comte (1655-1728), who arrived in China in the 1680s and worked in Shanxi and Shaanxi, probably could not have anticipated that his observations on China would eventually be transmitted to readers centuries later in the form of a children's novel.[117]

The Wolf Boy of China concludes with Lyu being miraculously reunited with his father, who has been a pirate's slave since his disappearance. Together, Lyu and his father find his mother and are also reunited with Tchin. Observing his mother's longing to see her father again, Lyu embarks on a journey to bring his grandfather back. Reunited at last, the whole family sails to the Portuguese colony of Macao.[118] However, Lyu's grandfather dies before he can return to 'his beloved hills' and Sang and Lyu decide to stay in Macao because there is no reason for them to return to 'the mountains of *Koei-cheou*' now.[119] Therefore, Richardson and Tchin start another business in Macao and the family settles into their new life.

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[116] Du Halde, *The General History of China*, III, pp. 44-45.
[117] Le Comte wrote a memoir called *Nouveaux memories sur l'etat present de la Chine*. For a biography of Le Comte, see John W. Witek, 'Louis Le Comte', in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. by Gerald H. Anderson (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), p. 390.
[118] According to Austin Coates, prior to 1842, Macao was a significant international city, but the majority of British and even Portuguese left Macao for Hong Kong after the treaty ports were opened. For more information on the history of Macao see Austin Coates, *Macao Narrative* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1978). Therefore, Richardson's decision to head for Macao in the 1850s is a little unconventional.
[119] Dalton uses *Kwei-chou* (used in *The Times*) at the beginning but *Koei-cheou* (used in Du Halde) here, suggesting that he consulted *The Times* article and Du Halde. The fact that he did not use a uniform spelling for Guizhou could either be seen as an indicator of how he rushed to finish a manuscript without ensuring consistency or his uncertainty about how to reconcile different renderings of Chinese words.

Readers of the first edition of *The Wolf Boy of China* who were eager to find out what happened to Lyu in Macao would have had to wait seven years to read about his further adventures. In 1864, Dalton published a sequel to *The Wolf Boy of China*, called *The Wasps of the Ocean; or, Little Waif and the Pirate of the Eastern Seas: A Romance of Travel and Adventure in China and Siam.* Unlike the first book, which is narrated in the third person, the sequel is narrated by Lyu Payo/Herbert, who is now twenty years old. Herbert informs readers that his father would have 'ended his days in peace and prosperity' in Macao had it not been for two personal tragedies that occurred within the space of a week: the death of both his wife and his business partner, Ching.[120] Captain Richardson finds no reason to stay in Macao any longer and desires to return to England, to the delight of Herbert. However, there are some business affairs that must be taken care of in Siam before they can return to England. Herbert, who speaks the Siamese tongue fluently, decides to journey to Bangkok to investigate the mysterious disappearance of their business contact Mi.[121]

Herbert travels with Dick Orme, a twenty-five-year-old Anglo-American who has been falsely accused of stealing from the San Francisco company that the Richardsons conduct business with. Dick is heading to Siam because he believes the real thief, a man named Captain Crafty, is residing there. The 'Little Waif' in the title of the book is a Caucasian orphan girl dressed as a 'slim boy in a tattered dress, with a large slouch hat' who travels with them because her adoptive aunt Mrs Banks, a milliner and dressmaker from London, was killed by pirates, or as the Chinese call them, 'Wasps or Rats of the Ocean'.[122] Little Waif, who has never known her real name or any relatives, is left with nobody to take care of her except Dick.

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[120] The partner's name is spelled Tchin in the first book.

[121] Readers later discover that the Richardsons had been involved in the bird's nests trade, and are given many details about the origin and uses of bird's nests.

[122] Dalton, *Wasps*, pp. 36; 6.

After a series of plot twists, they eventually find Crafty and discover his relationship to Mi.[123] Most surprisingly, readers discover that Crafty is Little Waif's father and Dick is her half-brother.[124] In the end, Herbert and Little Waif marry in San Francisco, where Dick also marries after his name has been cleared. Six months later, Herbert, his father, and Little Waif travel back to England. Herbert concludes that they settle in a house in London— 'the very house, in fact, beneath the roof-tree of which I have so many months been penning the story of my travels and adventures in the lands and waters of the Golden Dragon and the White Elephant' (412). Although Herbert was born in India and raised in China, this conventional ending represents his return to his 'real' home—metropolitan London, from which his experiences abroad could be narrated. Herbert's mixed-race background raises interesting questions about nineteenth-century notions of race. However, before examining Dalton's attitude towards race and miscegenation, I will first return to Bowman's *The Travels of Rolando* to explore how race was portrayed and discussed in that novel.

Nineteenth-Century Racial Science and the Novels of Bowman and Dalton

Various meanings have been attached to the word 'race' from the eighteenth to twentieth century. According to Nancy Stepan, it 'was used to refer to cultural, religious, national, linguistic, ethnic and geographical groups of human beings. At

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[123] Mi was responsible for business in Bangkok while Crafty made voyages abroad. On his last voyage, Crafty encountered a terrible mishap which made it necessary to dissolve the firm in Bangkok. They argue over an important document and Mi consequently poisons Crafty.

[124] Crafty had fallen in love and married Dick's mother, persuading her to invest the money Dick had asked Crafty to deliver to her. Unfortunately Crafty knew little about financial management and investing and left the money matters to his partner who left Crafty penniless. Dick's mother died while giving birth to Little Waif, so Crafty cursed his daughter and gave her to the workhouse neighbour before setting out to sea again. When he had saved enough money and purchased a ship, he went searching for Little Waif in California. However, before he could reach her, his ship was surrounded by a flotilla of pirates off the Ladrones. The pirate forced him to choose between death and servitude. Crafty had no choice but to become a pirate and was so successful that the Chinese chief gave him a separate command and introduced him to the Bangkok merchant Mi, who was in fact the real owner of the pirate ships. The pirates found out from Crafty that Costa and Olivarez at San Francisco had a large amount of spices and wanted to rob the warehouses. Crafty resisted the plan until he extorted a promise that Dick's life would be spared.

one time or another, the "Jews", the "Celts", the "Irish", the "Negro", the "Hottentots", the "Border-Scots", the "Chinese", the "Anglo-Saxons", the "Europeans", the "Mediterraneans", the "Teutons", the "Aryans", and the "Spanish Americans" were all "races" according to scientists'.[125] Nineteenth-century discussions of race focused on differences in national character which were delineated in terms of behavioural habits and mental capabilities. Such discussions gradually accumulated into an archive of knowledge about the racialized Other.[126] By 1850, developments in ethnology had produced works such as *The Natural History of the Varieties of Man*, a book containing over six hundred pages of information on the classifications of the 'varieties of the human race'.[127]

At the beginning of Bowman's *The Travels of Rolando*, Rolando's friends Montval the naturalist and St. Kassian the philanthropist engage in an interesting debate about race. Montval asserts that:

> Mankind are arbitrarily divided into distinct races. Let all of one race, in God's name, rich or poor, be brethren; but you can make out no affinity between the Caucasian, the Mongolian, and the Ethiopian. In as great a degree as man, in structure, is distinguished from other animals, so is one race of mankind distinguished from another. I allow that the human race stands alone in the possession of reasoning powers, –divided by an impassable gulf from the brute creation; but in structure there is perhaps less difference between the oran-outang and the ill-shapen negro, than between the Ethiopian and the perfectly-formed and highly intellectual Caucasian races. (*TR* 4)

His statement echoes the view expressed by the French comparative anatomist Georges Cuvier (1769-1832), who believed that man could be divided into three

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[125] Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800-1960* (London: Macmillan in association with St Antony's College, Oxford, 1982), p. xvii. For a history of how the definition of 'race' changed from 1750-1880, see Bronwen Douglas, 'Climate to Crania: Science and the Racialization of Human Difference', in *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race 1750-1940*, ed. by Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2008), pp. 33-96.

[126] Michael Banton, '"The Idiom of Race": A Critique of Presentism', in *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader*, ed. by Les Back and John Solomos (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 51-63 (p. 51); David Theo Goldberg, 'Racial Knowledge', in *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader*, ed. by Les Back and John Solomos (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 154-80 (p. 155).

[127] Latham, *The Natural History of the Varieties of Man*, p. 13.

'races:' Caucasian, Mongolian, and Ethiopian.[128] Cuvier argued that their biological differences could explain differences in ability and his ideas influenced British racial typologists such as Robert Knox (1791-1862) and Charles Hamilton Smith (1776-1859).[129] Bolstered by their belief in the biologized definition of 'race', they posited racial hierarchies where the Caucasian was always placed on top.[130] In stating that the 'ill-shapen' Ethiopian is closer to the 'oran-outang' than the 'perfectly-formed' Caucasian, Montval animalizes the Africans and dismisses them as intellectually inferior deformed creatures.

St. Kassian disagrees with Montval because he believes that all men were 'originally of one stock, sprung from the three sons of Noah' and argues that 'a slight difference in the formation of the skull does not militate against the possibility of civilization and education producing that agreement and harmony which constitute brotherhood' (*TR* 4). The dialogue between St. Kassian and Montval illustrates some highly contested issues that dominated debates between the monogenists and the polygenists of the nineteenth century. St. Kassian represents the monogenist view that all men share the same ancestor and that different races

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[128] See Ernest Cashmore, Michael Banton and Heribert Adam, *Dictionary of Race and Ethnic Relations*, 4th edn (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 159. Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, another influential comparative anatomist, divided man into five races: Caucasian, Mongolian, American, Ethiopian, and Malay.

[129] Banton, 'The Idiom of Race', p. 55. Knox studied under Cuvier in Paris from 1821-22. In 1846, he conducted a popular lecture tour around England on 'The Races of Men'. See Clare L. Taylor, 'Knox, Robert (1791-1862)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15787> [accessed 14 May 2009]. For more information on Knox, see George W. Stocking, 'What's in a Name? The Origins of the Royal Anthropological Institute (1837-71)', *Man*, 6 (New Series).3 (1871), 369-90 (p. 374). For discussion of *The Race of Man*, see Chapter Two of Laura Callanan, *Deciphering Race: White Anxiety, Racial Conflict, and the Turn to Fiction in Mid-Victorian English Prose* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005), pp. 44-75. Smith was a close friend of Cuvier and collaborated to produce an English translation of one of Cuvier's books. See Christine E. Jackson, 'Smith, Charles Hamilton (1776-1859)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25786> [accessed 14 May 2009].

[130] Lola Young, 'Hybridity's Discontents: Rereading Science and "Race"', in *Hybridity and Its Discontents: Politics, Science, Culture*, ed. by Avtar Brah and Annie E. Coombes (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 154-70 (p. 159).

emerged due to changes in climate, environment and civilization.[131] Although he acknowledges that the three races descended from Noah, Montval asserts that there is 'no affinity between the Caucasian, the Mongolian, and the Ethiopian' (*TR* 4). This is what many polygenists believed, leading them to conclude that different races existed since the beginning of man. Although the majority of Victorians were monogenists, by the 1860s polygenism 'formed a distinct if minority strand of British racial thought'.[132]

Sceptical of St. Kassian's optimism, Montval insists that 'the long narrow skull, the low forehead, and coarse animal structure of the Ethiopian did not contain the mind to project or accomplish the glorious works of art which enriched Egypt' (*TR* 5). In referring to the 'narrow skull' of the Ethiopian, Montval, like many polygenists, cites 'skeletal and cranial evidence' to support his view that Africans were beneath Caucasians on the physical as well as mental scale.[133] St. Kassian and Montval's discussion of men's skulls and foreheads suggests that Bowman may also have been interested in phrenology, which was popular among many Victorians. Such interest was not uncommon, for scholars have pointed out how authors such as Charles Dickens, Edgar Allan Poe, and Charlotte Brontë reflected on the trend of phrenology in their stories.[134] Phrenology was also discussed in Captain Marryat's children's book *The Mission* (1845). When Alexander asks Swin-ton whether he believes in phrenology, the answer is:

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[131] Banton, 'The Idiom of Race', p. 53. See also Benjamin Penny, 'More Than One Adam?: Revelation and Philology in Nineteenth-Century China', *Humanities Research Journal*, XIV.1 (2007), 31-50.

[132] Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science*, p. 3.

[133] The reference to the 'narrow skull' alludes to the work of Swedish anatomist Anders Retzius (1796-1860), who distinguished between the *dolichocephalic* (narrow-headed) and *brachycephalic* (broad-headed) races. For more information, see George W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1987), pp. 65-67.

[134] See Rodney Stenning Edgecombe, 'Hood's "Craniology" and the Head of Christopher Casby in Little Dorrit', *Victorian Newsletter*, 105 (2004), 28-29; Brett Zimmerman, 'Sensibility, Phrenology, and *The Fall of the House of Usher*', *Edgar Allan Poe Review*, 8.1 (2007), 47-56; Mary A. Armstrong, 'Reading a Head: Jane Eyre, Phrenology, and the Homoerotics of Legibility', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 33.1 (2005), 107-32.

> I neither believe nor disbelieve in that, and many more modern discoveries of the same kind; I do not think it right to reject them or to give blind credence. Not a day passes but some discovery excites our wonder and admiration, and points out to us how little we do know. [...] That the general principles of phrenology are correct may be fairly assumed, from the examination of the skulls of men and animals and of different men; but I give no credence to all the divisions and subdivisions which have, in my opinion, been most presumptuously marked out by those who profess, and of course fully believe, the full extent of these supposed discoveries.[135]

In an earlier Marryat novel, the popular *Mr. Midshipman Easy* (1836), Nicodemus Easy is mocked for his obsession with phrenology, a point picked up by *The Phrenological Journal* in 1838.[136]

Phrenology, or 'the science of the mind', was founded by German physiologist Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828), who divided the brain into many 'organs' and argued that the structure of the skull determined an individual's character and mental capacity. Johann Spurzheim (1776-1832), Gall's former assistant, introduced phrenology to Britain in 1814 and 1815.[137] Spurzheim lectured widely on the importance of considering 'the heads of different nations' and influenced many people, including George Combe (1788-1858), who became one of the strongest advocates of phrenology in Britain. He believed that external skull shape could reveal one's personality and produced instruments to measure cerebral development. The phrenology movement flourished in the 1830s and by 1836, more than thirty

[135] Frederick Marryat, *The Mission: or, Scenes in Africa*, 2 vols (London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1845), I, p. 217. Captain Frederick W. Marryat (1792-1848) played an important role in establishing the adventure story as a dominant form in nineteenth-century children's books. His most famous book, *Masterman Ready; or, The Wreck of the Pacific* (1841-2) was written in response to *The Swiss Family Robinson* (German original 1812-13), which contained errors in seamanship and geography. Masterman Ready is a wise seafarer who helps a family stranded on a desert island to escape from savages. Other books include *Mr. Midshipman Easy* (1836), *Settlers in Canada* (1844) and *Children of the New Forest* (1847). See J. S. Bratton, *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), p. 134. For more information on Marryat, see Chapter Two of Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988).

[136] 'Kidd and Marryat's Antiphrenology', *The Phrenological Journal, and Magazine of Moral Science*, XI.LVI (1838), 332.

[137] T. M. Parssinen, 'Popular Science and Society: The Phrenology Movement in Early Victorian Britain', *Journal of Social History*, 8:1 (1974), 1-20.

phrenological societies had been established in Europe.[138] In the United States, many writers (such as Mark Twain) and politicians (such as Ulysses S. Grant) had their heads 'read'.[139]

Many heated discussions revolved around the question of whether national and racial character was determined by the environment or determined at birth. Combe used phrenology to argue for the latter view regarding 'the Cerebral Development of Nations' and asserts that because Europeans have always shown 'an elasticity of mind incapable of being permanently repressed', their brains are usually large and fully developed.[140] According to Combe, Africans, Asians, and American Indians have inferior civilizations because of their inherent mental deficiencies.[141] In Bowman's *Rolando*, Montval subscribes to the view that Africans are mentally deficient when he states that 'I adhere to my first opinion, that the three races descended from Noah still retain to the eye of the naturalist, a striking and mysterious moral and physical distinction, sufficient to form a barrier that no human means can overthrow. Show me a negro Buffon or a negro Newton, and I will hold out to him the hand of brotherhood' (5). In his mind, the chances of an African becoming a great scientist are very slim, which conforms to Spurzheim's view that because Africans had narrow foreheads, 'their talents of music and mathematics are also in general very limited'.[142] On the other hand, St. Kassian remains optimistic, arguing that 'the negro is capable of instruction' (*TR* 5). Their discussion is cut short because they observe that Rolando wants to know if they will follow him on his proposed travels. In presenting both sides of the argument without a decisive

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[138] Paul A. Erickson, 'Phrenology and Physical Anthropology: The George Combe Connection', *Current Anthropology*, 18.1 (1977), 92-93.

[139] Madeleine B. Stern, 'Mark Twain had His Head Examined', *American Literature*, 41.2 (1969), 207-18.

[140] George Combe, *A System of Phrenology*, 4th edn (New York: Harper & Brothers, [1825] 1860), p. 421.

[141] Parssinen, 'Popular Science and Society', 7.

[142] Quoted in Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science*, p. 24.

conclusion, Bowman adheres to her aim for writing *The Travels of Rolando*, which is to 'supply materials for thinking' (*TR* v). Their dialogue demonstrates the highly contested array of attitudes towards race that circulated in the mid-nineteenth century. Although Bowman's prefaces suggest that she was probably a monogenist, she does not display a condescending attitude towards her child readers, giving them freedom to decide whether they wish to agree with St. Kassian or Montval.

Although Montval and St. Kassian do not address the status of the Mongolians on the racial hierarchy, they probably would have agreed that this 'race' ranked below the Caucasian but above the African. In *Lectures on Comparative Anatomy, Physiology, Zoology, and the Natural History of Man*, which had gone into its ninth edition by 1848, William Lawrence asserts that,

> The Mongolian people differ very much in their docility and moral character. While the empires of China and Japan prove that this race is susceptible of civilization, and of great advancement in the useful and even elegant arts of life, and exhibit the singular phenomenon of political and social institutions between two and three thousand years older than the Christian era, the fact of their having continued nearly stationary for so many centuries, marks an inferiority of nature and a limited capacity in comparison to that of the white races.[143]

Although Rolando and his friends' experiences in China allowed them to learn, among other things, about the process of producing porcelain and silk, revealing their interest in the country's 'elegant arts of life', Doloni feels that 'all is eternal sameness' in China (*TR* 252). Therefore, despite Segnier's comment that he considers 'the people to be in a forward state of civilization', Bowman probably subscribed to Lawrence's view that the Chinese, who belong to the Mongolian 'race', were still inferior to the Caucasians (*TR* 309).

Like Bowman, William Dalton was also aware of phrenology because he includes a passing reference to craniologists in *The Wolf Boy of China*. During the Feast of Lanterns, Lyu notices craniologists 'delivering lectures upon the good and

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[143] Lawrence, *Lectures on Comparative Anatomy*, p. 329.

bad qualities of the mind, as exhibited by the state of the head, eyes, nose, and forehead' but does not stop to listen to what they have to say (64).[144] Because *The Wolf Boy of China* is set entirely in China, we cannot compare Dalton's attitudes towards the Caucasian, African, and Mongolian 'races', but this novel reveals his awareness of the different ethnic groups in China. Throughout the story, he refers to the Si-fan 'race' and the Miao 'race', suggesting that his understanding of the 'Chinese' was much more sophisticated than Bowman's because Bowman only mentions the Tartar females having 'more freshness of complexion than the true Chinese' (*TR* 253). Dalton's portrayal of Lyu, the half-English, half-Miao mixed-race hero and his interactions with the Han Chinese, the Tartars, and the Si-fan reveal complex issues related to race and identity that had not been raised in previous children's books.

The Mixed-Race Hero

The Wolf Boy of China and *The Wasps of the Ocean* are significant because very few mid-nineteenth century children's texts feature mixed-race characters. In 1859, Dalton penned another novel featuring a mixed-race character: *The White*

[144] Because Dalton most likely visited the 'Ten Thousand Chinese Things' exhibit, his description of the craniologist was probably inspired by it. According to John Haddad, Nathan Dunn, the American collector of 'Ten Thousand Chinese Things', employed phrenological theories to understand Chinese culture: 'He had observed that all Chinese shared roughly the same facial structure and, to explain this phenomenon, he made recourse to a study he had read. The subjects of a despotic regime, he explained, are "all reduced to the same level, urged by the same wants, engaged in the same pursuits, actuated by the same passions"; therefore, "through a long succession of ages", they "necessarily assimilate, both mentally and physically" (Dunn 33-34). In other words, when rulers compel their subjects to think alike, over time this inner homogeneity manifests itself on the exterior in the shape and contours of the skull': John Haddad, 'The Romantic Collector in China: Nathan Dunn's Ten Thousand Chinese Things' *Journal of American Culture*, 21.1 (1998), 7-26 (p. 16). For discussion of Chinese ideas of physiognomy, see volume 2 of Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956) and Stephen R. Bokenkamp, 'Simple Twists of Fate: The Daoist Body and Its *Ming*', in *The Magnitude of Ming: Command, Allotment, and Fate in Chinese Culture*, ed. by Christopher Lupke (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), pp. 151-68. In 1899, craniology is used to describe how the Chinese differ from the British in the *Boy's Own Paper*: 'John Chinaman is a gentleman who of late years has been occupying a great deal of our attention. Let us look first at the man as he is. His head is a different shape from ours, his eyes and nose are at different angles, and his hair is twisted into a form which the rest of the world regards as the reverse of beautiful [...] By nature he is indolent, an arrant liar, and an inveterate thief': Angus R. H. Mackay, 'John Chinaman and What John Bull Owes Him', *Boy's Own Paper*, 22 (1899-1900), 185.

Elephant; or, The Hunters of Ava and the King of the Golden Foot (1859). Câecile Parrish claims that the half-English, half-Laotian hero of *The White Elephant* makes 'repeated derogatory generalisations about his fellow half-castes, such as "A rogue he may be, most half-castes are" or "all half-castes are treacherous"'.[145] However, she wrongly attributes these remarks to him because both of these statements come from another character named Mr. Johnson. In fact, the hero believes that the assertion 'all half-castes are treacherous' is 'ungenerous'.[146] While Parrish's assertion that the Eurasian in nineteenth-century children's literature is a 'figure of fun: servile, ingratiating, pompous, longwinded [...]' may be true in some cases, it does not apply in Dalton's novels.[147] Dalton treats his mixed-race characters favourably and does not represent them as 'marginal, tragically flawed' or 'deeply conflicted', which is often the case in mixed-race literature.[148]

The topic of interracial marriage and Eurasian children in China became more noticeable only in the latter part of the nineteenth century. For example, Susan Thurin points out that in *A Marriage in China* (1896), Alicia Little tackles the subject of Eurasian children in China, which increasingly became a public concern after 1867, when the *China Punch* printed a cartoon about a man who fears being mistaken as the father of a Chinese child.[149] Thurin also mentions that people

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[145] Câecile Parrish, *The Image of Asia in Children's Literature, 1814-1964* (Clayton, Vic.: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies Monash University, 1977), p. 25.

[146] William Dalton, *The White Elephant; or, the Hunters of Ava and the King of the Golden Foot* (New York: Townsend, 1860), p. 54. 'A rogue he may be, most half-castes are' is spoken by Mr. Johnson in response to the narrator's fear that the half-Portuguese, half-Burmese man may be a rascal (76).

[147] Parrish, *The Image of Asia*, p. 25.

[148] For analysis of tragic mixed-race characters see Jonathan Brennan, 'Introduction', in *Mixed Race Literature*, ed. by Jonathan Brennan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), pp. 1-56; Isabelle Thuy Pelaud, '"Mettise Blanche": Kim Lefvre and Transnational Space', in *Mixed Race Literature*, pp. 122-36. For discussion on the 'tragic mulatto', see Chapter Eight of Werner Sollors, *Neither Black nor White and yet Both: Thematic Explorations of Interracial Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[149] Thurin, *Victorian Travelers*, p. 169. For analysis of *A Marriage of China*, see Rachel M. Bright, '"Irregular Unions": Alicia Bewicke Little's *A Marriage in China* and British-Chinese Relations in the Late-Nineteenth Century', *Schuylkill*, 5.1 (2002), 38-53.

believed that 'half-European children "have a blood or race claim upon every foreigner" and thus deserve to be saved from the "constant contact with the degrading vices of the Chinese"', as one writer argues in an 1871 article in the Anglo-Chinese journal *Cycle*.[150] Although Lyu is the hero of *The Wolf Boy of China*, he differs dramatically from the typical Caucasian adventure-story hero. Instead of being regarded with disgust for being a mixed-race child, as Henry Knollys regarded the 'hybrid offspring of effete Portuguese fathers and half caste native mothers', Lyu navigates between the Miao, Si-fan, and Han communities with ease.[151] Perhaps the reason Dalton chooses to make Lyu half-Miao instead of half-Chinese (Han) is due to the fact that his audience knew relatively little about the Miao, but may have already had negative stereotypical ideas of the Chinese entrenched in their minds. Lyu's Miao background also heightens his marginal status as well as the 'romantic' or 'exotic' nature of *The Wolf Boy of China*. In addition, because the Miao were enemies of not only the ruling Manchu government, but also of the Han Chinese and Si-fan, the element of danger and excitement is increased.

In 1854, Agazzis stated that 'nobody can deny that the offspring of different races is always a half-breed, as between animals of a different species, and not a child like either its mother or its father'.[152] 'Half-breeds' were believed to be sterile and degenerate. Therefore, Victorians who were anxious about 'the survival of the superior "race"' felt strongly about maintaining racial purity.[153] In discussing the representation of Eurasians in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century British Indian literature, Loretta M. Mijares comments that as a standard trope, the half-

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[150] Thurin, *Victorian Travelers*, p. 169.
[151] Quoted in Thurin, *Victorian Travelers*, p. 171. In some ways, Kipling's *Kim* (1901) is similar to Lyu, because, as Thomas Richards puts it, 'Kim adapts himself to the circumstances and customs at hand, moving with ease into a state of environmental equilibrium with the road, its inhabitants, its taboos, and its procedures. He operates exclusively by means of local protocols and customs': Richards, *The Imperial Archive*, p. 25.
[152] Quoted in Young, 'Hybridity's Discontents', p. 157.
[153] Young, 'Hybridity's Discontents', p. 157.

caste is 'granted a strange agency' where he has the power 'to choose the inherent qualities of his own make-up' and 'is generally perverse enough to pick the worst qualities of the two races'.[154] Mijares posits that '[t]his convoluted rhetoric of relocated agency and blame enables a disavowal not only of responsibility to the entity fathered by the colonizer but also of similitude between father and bastard child'.[155] Dalton's view of half-bloods is exactly the opposite. Not only is Captain Richardson a responsible father who loves his son, there is also a striking similarity between the two. Contrary to possessing the worst qualities of the Miao race and the British race, Lyu seems to have inherited the positive traits of both—courage, compassion, filial piety, intelligence, nobility, physical strength, and Christian morality. In 1854, Josiah C. Nott (1804-1874) expressed the view that '[t]he infusion of even a minute proportion of the blood of one race into another, produces a decided modification of moral and physical character'.[156] Most Victorians believed that this 'modification' resulted in weakened offspring, but in the case of Lyu, the modification that occurs is a positive one, for he is strong, intelligent, and loyal.

According to Jenks, although almost everyone seems to agree that the Miao were independent and warlike, there were vastly different interpretations of the Miao character: the Chinese in imperial times usually regarded them as 'barbaric, lazy, violent, and cunning', while 'most missionaries and other foreigners—with some notable exceptions—found the Miao to be diligent, loyal, hospitable, self-reliant, and independent'.[157] Dalton chooses to focus on the positive images of the Miao in

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[154] Loretta M. Mijares, 'Distancing the Proximate Other: Hybridity and Maud Diver's *Candles in the Wind*', *Twentieth Century Literature*, 50.2 (2004), 107-41 (p. 120).
[155] Mijares, 'Distancing the Proximate Other', 120.
[156] Young, 'Hybridity's Discontents', p. 157.
[157] Jenks, *Insurgency*, p. 35. According to Du Halde, 'The Chinese give all these Miao Tsee a very bad character; they say, these people are wavering, treacherous, savage, and particularly very great thieves': Du Halde, *The General History of China*, I, p. 70. The 1853 article in *The Times* asserts that the Miao 'are husbandmen and warriors, fearless, and capable of any amount of fatigue': 'The History of the Chinese Insurrection', p. 9. In comparing the Chinese to the Miao, Lockhart observes: 'Their complexion and the shape of their bodies are altogether alike, but as to their courage, you

this novel, by portraying Lyu as a 'brave and fearless' warrior and leader, just like his maternal grandfather who he rescued from a ferocious wild boar (262).[158] The Miao people were divided into two categories by the Han Chinese: 'raw' [*sheng* Miao] or 'cooked' [*shu* Miao]. The text mentions Lyu passing a column that marks the border of the 'SING' Miao, which implies that Lyu's mother and grandfather are members of the 'raw' (unassimilated) group, who lived in remote areas and refused to adopt Han customs.[159] Lyu's grandfather, who is described as having 'piercing dark eyes' which 'proved the indomitable spirit of his race', resembles the noble savage, because even when he has been captured and caged by the Chinese, the 'noble' king peers 'into the faces of the crowd with glances that showed his spirit to be still unsubdued, like a tiger at bay' (250; 238).[160] Not only are the Miao men brave, the women are given much more freedom and rights than Chinese women. For example, Sang does not have 'golden lilies' (bound feet). Miao women even have the opportunity to occupy positions of power, such as the magistrate of a village. After conversing with a lady magistrate, the mandarin says to Lyu Payo, 'Truly, my young brother, it is a strange sight to see women usurping the place of men!' (247).

Lyu demonstrates his 'Miao bravery' by passing the 'ordeal of valor' and proving that he is 'worthy to be a leader of his race' (260; 263). Dalton's description

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would think them to be quite another nation; the Chinese stand in fear of them': William Lockhart, 'On the Miautsze, or Aborigines of China', *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, 1 (1861), 177-85 (p. 183).

[158] Although Dalton presents a mostly positive view of the Miao, he offers the Chinese perspective through the mouth of the mandarin, who cites many 'stupid' and 'barbarous' Miao customs such as not washing the face for forty-nine days after a parent's death, or knocking out two front teeth when marrying (246).

[159] Jenks, *Insurgency*, p. 35.

[160] Dalton compares the Miao political system to England in the Middle Ages: 'The SING Miao-tse had, moreover, elected a king from among their petty princes, whom they had invested with the yellow robe of royalty and supreme power over all the other chiefs. The latter stood in the same relation to the Miao-tse king as the nobles in England stood to their sovereign in the middle ages; that is, independent prices in their own territories, but, at the summons of the king, obliged to follow him to battle with all the armed men of their tribe' (255).

of this test, which involves galloping down a mountain at 'full speed' and jumping over wide ditches either filled with water or fire, is paraphrased from Du Halde's section on the Miao (262).[161] Lyu continues to demonstrate his bravery by fighting with the black Si-fan and saving a pirate chief from being assassinated by a Tartar woman. After the first incident, the Si-fan chief concludes that 'he [Lyu] is no dog of a Chinese; the blood of the wolf or tiger is in him' (277). Similarly, the pirate chief calls him the boy with 'the heart of a tiger' (293).[162]

On the racial hierarchy, Dalton places the minority 'races' in China (Miao and Si-fan) high above the majority (Han people). According to Dalton's description, the Miao are a 'simple people', 'uniformly good-tempered, pleasing, and industrious' (248; 247). Considering that he consulted the works of Charles Gutzlaff, who describes Guizhou as the 'Switzerland of China', it is not surprising that Dalton informs readers that Lyu found 'freedom and hospitality' everywhere in Guizhou (246).[163] Gutzlaff also compares the Miao to the Scottish Highlanders. In the novel, Dalton draws a parallel between the Miao and the Scottish when he compares Lyu's perseverance to that of Scottish hero Robert the Bruce (1274-1329), 'who, after many failures in his attempt to beat King Edward, happening to see a spider after many failures succeed in reaching its web, made another effort, beat Edward, and became king of Scotland' (262). The story of Robert the Bruce and the spider was

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[161] These trials are described in Du Halde's descriptions of the Miao: 'when they are about to choose the officers of the troops, they oblige the candidates to make the horses which they ride upon, jump over a ditch of a certain breadth, wherein there is lighted a bright fire, and to order the soldiers to ride full speed down the highest mountains': Du Halde, *The General History of China*, I, p. 63.

[162] An interesting point about 'race' is reflected in the following statement about the pirate chief: 'with the chivalrous feeling that belongs more or less to all brave men, of whatever race or name, he had, as you have seen, determined to bring about this great surprise [reuniting Lyu with his father]' (298). The pirate chief claims to be a descendent of Koshinga, the King of Formosa and gives a brief history of Formosa. Dalton may have derived the information from E. Stevens, 'Formosa: Its Situation and Extent; Discovery by the Chinese; Occupation by the Dutch; Their Government There, and Expulsion by the Pirate Koxinga; Its Cession to the Chinese; Present Government and Divisions; the Late Rebellion; Its Aboriginal Inhabitants; Productions and Population', *Chinese Repository*, II (1834), 409-20.

[163] Charles Gutzlaff, *China Opened: or, a Display of the Topography, History, Customs, Manners, Arts, Manufactures, Commerce, Literature, Religion, Jurisprudence, etc. of the Chinese Empire*, 2 vols (London: Smith, Elder, 1838), I, p. 163.

popularized by Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) in *Tales of a Grandfather* (1828-30), a three volume children's history of Scotland. Like Scott, Dalton presents a nostalgic yearning for the romantic past as reflected in the Miao, who are independent, brave, and proud.

Dalton describes Lyu's personality traits in much more detail than his physical appearance. In fact, not much is known about Lyu's physical features except that he wears a queue and has a fair complexion. With the exception of the bonze, nobody else in the novel seems to recognize him as a Eurasian child. Unlike half-castes in colonial fiction, Lyu does not pose a 'threat' because he never attempts to 'pass' as British and does not posses the 'dangerous invisibility' that colonial writers were often anxious about.[164] In choosing not to emphasize physical features, Dalton is implying that 'knowledge' of a culture is possibly more important for survival. For example, it is not enough for Captain Richardson to go undetected disguised as a boatman while searching for Lyu. In order to obtain vital information about where his kidnapped son might be held, he must use his knowledge of Chinese customs. When he spots a sympathetic-looking Chinese man, Richardson laments that he had lost his only son and 'would have no child behind him to perform the customary ceremonies at his funeral or sweep his tomb', knowing that the Chinese man would consider this a serious misfortune and offer to help (21). In addition to knowledge of culture, mastery of language is also crucial for survival. Lyu's knowledge of the Miao language saves him because he could act as the interpreter for the government envoy who was heading for Guizhou to deliver a message from the Emperor to the Miao leader. Knowledge of attitudes towards race is also a powerful thing to have. For example, when Lyu is discovered by Chinese soldiers he merely tells them that he is the son of a merchant and they treat him kindly. When the black Si-fan people

[164] Mijares, 'Distancing the Proximate Other', 115.

ask him about his history, he is not afraid to tell them 'the name of his father's race' because he knows they probably would not object to that.[165] Because he was not sure about their attitude towards the Miao, however, he merely informs them that his mother is from the mountains without specifying the name of her tribe. However, he is too proud of his Miao identity to pretend that he has Si-fan blood in him even though claiming Si-fan ancestry would have gained him acceptance among their tribe.

In choosing to refer to his hero as 'Lyu' rather than 'Herbert' in *The Wolf Boy of China* Dalton seems to focus on Lyu's 'Miao-ness' more than his 'British-ness'. Although Lyu's 'wolf' side is emphasized, most of the time he passes off as a Han Chinese and his ability to do so ensures his survival. In fact, although both of his parents are not Han Chinese, he is educated as a Chinese. Lyu speaks Mandarin Chinese and the Miao dialect, but the novel does not mention him speaking English, although it may be assumed that he speaks English when conversing with his father.[166] In the sequel, however, although Herbert states that he 'may fairly claim to be considered worthy' of both [English and Chinese] nations, 'or at least no disgrace to either', he does not exhibit any 'Chinese' characteristics in the book.[167] Furthermore, he does not specify that his mother is a Miao and not a Han Chinese, which was so crucial in the first book. As a mixed-race character who can shift between British and Chinese identities with ease, Herbert spends the first half of his life 'under the tutelage of Chinese scholars' and the latter 'under that of an English

[165] Dalton probably read Du Halde's comments on the Si-fan: 'The Chinese distinguish this Nation into two Sorts of People; they call one Sort the Black Si fan, He si fan; the other Hoang si fan, or the Yellow Si fan; not from any Difference in their Complexion, for they are generally pretty swarthy, but because one Sort live in Black, and the other in Yellow Tents': Du Halde, *The General History of China*, I, p. 34.
[166] Another interesting characteristic of the text is that no Pidgin English is spoken.
[167] Dalton, *Wasps*, p. 1. Forman quotes this passage and writes that Herbert and Dick's 'mixed origins give them unique opportunities to express their prowess': Ross Forman, 'Projecting from Possession Point: Hong Kong, Hybridity, and the Shifting Grounds of Imperialism in James Dalziel's Turn-of-the-Century Fiction', *Criticism*, 46.4 (2005), 533-74 (p. 542).

missionary'.[168] Because of his racial ambiguity, he can shed the markers of his 'Chinese' identity like a chameleon when it suits him. Dalton's characters are able to make the most of the 'fluidity' of their racial identity. As Robert Young points out, Anthony Trollope argued for the advantages of racial 'amalgamation' in *The West Indies* (1859) because he believed it would be beneficial for colonization to have 'different attributes of black and white'.[169] However, because Dalton's characters do not stay in China, his reasons for supporting racial amalgamation seem to have little to do with colonization.

Jonathan Brennan observes that in mixed-race texts, there is a tradition of 'successive naming' (the adoption of new names at a critical juncture in life) and 'multiple naming' (the acquisition and use of multiple names).[170] The critical juncture in Lyu Payo/Herbert's life occurs when he is twenty. In adopting the name Herbert after his mother's death and preparing to return to England, he casts off his Miao identity and enters into a British identity. Not only does Herbert have a new name, he has constructed a new identity through his European clothing. This change could also be an outward symbol of the transition from childhood to adulthood. The difference between the 'old' Herbert and the 'new' Herbert is particularly evident when comparing illustrations in *The Wolf Boy of China* and *The Wasps of the Ocean.* Because image and text work together to affect reader reception, it is important to consider how the mixed-race Lyu/Herbert is visually depicted in both novels.[171]

Because Dalton does not describe Lyu/Herbert's physical features in detail, the illustrators of *The Wolf Boy of China* and *The Wasps of the Ocean* could utilize the

[168] Dalton, *Wasps*, p. 1
[169] Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 141.
[170] Brennan, 'Introduction', p. 24.
[171] Lorraine Janzen Kooistra, *The Artist as Critic: Bitextuality in fin-de-siècle Illustrated Books* (Hants, Eng: Scolar, 1995), p. 3.

ambiguity of his physical appearance for their own purposes.[172] As can be seen in Figure 4 and Figure 5, the younger Lyu/Herbert bears no similarity to his older self. In Figure 4, an illustration in *The Wolf Boy of China* by M'Connell, he wears Chinese style dress and has a pigtail. His embroidered clothes suggest that he comes from a wealthy family. In Figure 5, an illustration by C. F. Nicholls from *The Wasps of the Ocean*, Lyu/Herbert has grown up (signified by his moustache). He has completely morphed into a Caucasian-looking man for instead of a pigtail, he has short curly hair; instead of dressing in loose-fitting Chinese clothes, he wears a tailored European suit and hat. In Macao, which he describes as a 'half Portuguese, half Chinese city', he no longer has to pass for a Han Chinese, and therefore no longer needs to wear a pigtail.[173] Because Herbert is a businessman in Macao, perhaps the illustrator felt a suit was the most proper attire for someone conducting international business, but Herbert's physical features are distinctly different: he has thick eyebrows and his eyes look much larger.

In all four novels discussed in this chapter, interracial marriages are portrayed as 'normal' and acceptable. For example, in *The Boy Voyagers*, Madsimano, the Japanese nobleman who helps the protagonists escape from Japan, succeeds in marrying an English woman, which implies that because he is a noble Christian, he is qualified to become a wonderful husband. Similarly, although Lyu Payo/Herbert is of mixed-race heritage, he marries Little Waif, who is Caucasian but feels unworthy

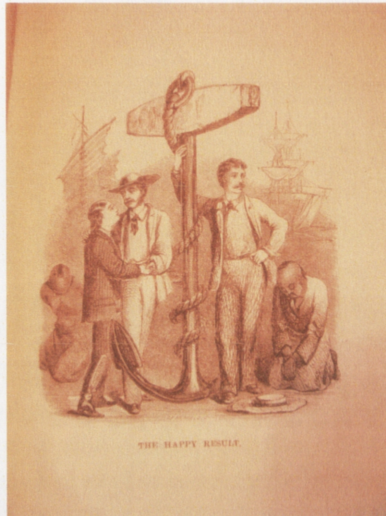
[172] It is not certain whether Dalton had any interaction with the illustrators of his books. However, it is unlikely that he did, because it was customary for illustrators to obtain a finished manuscript directly from the publisher and illustrate it without ever discussing the pictures with the author. The author rarely had opportunities to be involved in the production of the book, because the artist may have also been responsible for designing the cover, spine, title pages, endpages, and layout. See Kooistra, *The Artist as Critic*, p. 3.

[173] His mother would have been very happy that he could cut off his pigtail because she had protested loudly against it, 'blaspheming against the Imperial Dragon for compelling her boy to wear such a badge of slavery, as she called the graceful tails of the celestial people' (*Wolf Boy*, 50-52). According to the 1853 *The Times* article: 'The Tartars have never conquered them [Miao]. They have preserved the ancient national costume; have never shaved their heads, have always repelled the authority of the mandarins and refused to adopt customs imposed by the Mantchoos': 'The History of the Chinese Insurrection', p. 9.

of him because she is the daughter of a pirate and the sister of a runaway clerk. Unlike the hero of 'Half-Caste Bob; or, The Hero of our Indian Contingent' (c. 1883) who Kelly Boyd points out cannot marry Maudie, the daughter of the commanding officer of the regiment, because of his status as a half-caste, Herbert faces no obstacles taking Little Waif as his wife.[174]

Figure 4. 'Lyu's advice to the bonze'. Illustrated by M'Connell

Figure 5. 'The happy result'. Illustrated by C. F. Nicholls



Readership

As the discussions above have shown, complicated topics ranging from issues of race to the status of women are embedded into Bowman and Dalton's children's books on China. However, it is difficult to ascertain how young readers responded to these texts. In recent years, scholars have highlighted the importance of examining marginalia to illuminate reading practices and provide insights into how readers responded to a text. For example, H. J. Jackson has demonstrated that children's marginalia can reveal readers' attitudes in 'a particularly raw state'.[175] Marginalia in my personal copy of an 1884 American edition of *The Wolf Boy of China* reveals that although Dalton identified the novel as a 'book for boys' and dedicated it to his

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[174] Kelly Boyd, '"Half-Caste Bob" or Race and Caste in the Late-Victorian Boys' Story Paper', in *Negotiating India in the Nineteenth-Century Media*, ed. by David Finkelstein and Douglas M. Peers (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 63-83.

[175] H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 19.

son, at least one girl owned and read the book. Her name can be found in several places in the text: 'Elizabeth Lin' and 'Lizzie' are written in cursive at the top and right-hand side of the illustration to page 67 and on page 217, her full name is written out: 'Elizabeth Linster'.[176] The name 'Elizabeth' was once imprinted on the title page but has since been erased. This repetition of names coincides with Jackson's observation that children frequently wrote their names 'over and over again in one book'.[177] It also may indicate how much Elizabeth valued 'ownership' of a book. Elizabeth engaged with the text by copying the title on top of pages 15 and 218—'The "Wolf-People"' and 'Lyu sails to the West', but what is most interesting is her opinion of the first chapter— 'pretty good' (16). Although nothing is known about Elizabeth's age and family background or when and where she read the book, her positive assessment indicates that at least one female reader enjoyed the first chapter of the story.

Although adult accounts about childhood reading may be problematic due to issues such as selective memory, misremembering, forgetfulness, and even dishonesty, an example of a childhood experience of engaging with *The Wolf Boy of China* from John E. McDonough's *Idyls of the Old South Ward* (1932), a memoir about growing up in Chester, Pennsylvania, is worth examining because it calls into question simplistic assumptions about the child reader. An American edition of *The Wolf Boy of China* was published under the title *John Chinaman; or, Adventures in Flowery Land* in Boston in 1858 and as *The Wolf Boy of China; or Incidents and Adventures in the Life of Lyu-Payo* in 1859. Because it was recommended in *The Best Reading: Hints on the Selection of Books; on the Formation of Libraries, Public and Private; on Courses of Reading, etc* (1877), it is not surprising that

[176] Another previous owner was male, as indicated by the first three pages before the title page, which are stamped with the words 'Property of James J. Byrne'.
[177] Jackson, *Marginalia*, p. 9.

nineteenth-century transatlantic readers could borrow the book from many libraries, such as the Boston Public Library, Detroit Public Library, Chicago Public Library, and the Public Library of Cincinnati.[178] John E. McDonough (d. 1944) recalls that when he was a child, he often went to visit his eccentric friend Frederick J. Hinkson, Jr, a former active Republican who had retired from politics to sell shoe supplies after an embarrassing incident at an important meeting. Before the Fourth of July celebrations of 1882, Hinkson had given the young McDonough money to buy books for his library. Given the freedom to choose books based on his 'whim and fancy', McDonough purchased "The Phantom Wife", by Emma Garrison Jones; "Kit Carson's Revenge", by Beadle, and "The Wolf Boy in China"'.[179] Because the title 'The Wolf Boy in China' differs slightly from *The Wolf Boy of China* and the name of the author is not specified, it is possible that he had bought a pirated copy of Dalton's work. Furthermore, because it cost less than twenty cents, making it significantly cheaper than the five-shilling first British edition and the seventy-five-cent first American edition, we can see that the book was later marketed as popular literature along with Beadle's dime novels and reached a wide American audience.

It is worth noting that both the fictional reader Lyu and the real reader McDonough purchased books based on personal preferences, which supports Jan Fergus's argument that children have agency—not only do they decide what they want to read, sometimes their tastes differ from people's expectations.[180] For example, she discovered in the borrowing records of Rugby students that boys aged eight to fourteen read *Goody Two-Shoes*, traditionally considered a 'girl's book'.

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[178] Frederic B. Perkins, *The Best Reading: Hints on the Selection of Books; on the Formation of Libraries, Public and Private; on Courses of Reading, Etc.* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1877).
[179] John E. McDonough, *Idyls of the Old South Ward* (Chester: Chester Times, [1932]), p. 94. Further references to this book are given after quotations in the text.
[180] Jan Fergus, 'Solace in Books: Reading Trifling Adventures at Rugby School', in *Childhood and Children's Books in Early Modern Europe, 1550-1800*, ed. by Andrea Immel (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 243-59 (p. 245).

Similarly, McDonough made an unexpected choice in 'The Phantom Wife' because Emma Garrison Jones was noted for writing women's fiction such as *Will She Win?* (1888), *Lady Ryhope's Lover* (1890), and *Wedded in a Hour* (1891). Both Lyu and McDonough buy books during festivities—Lyu during the Feast of Lanterns and McDonough during the Fourth of July celebrations. Festivals seem to be the least likely of times for reading, but during the process of reading, readers such as McDonough seem to be able to enter a space where noises are temporarily blocked out, because he describes engaging with the text of 'The Wolf Boy in China' as a 'quiet dissipation', suggesting that he became oblivious to the 'incessant discharge of fireworks' outside (95).

Perhaps taking McDonough's interests into consideration, Hinkson discarded the other two books and 'plunged into' 'The Wolf Boy in China', the story of 'a boy of a wolf clan who was journeying through the Celestial Kingdom, as it was then known'. In this 'interesting book for male juvenile readers', one of the most notable characters 'was a philosophic old soul who after the manner of Confucius expressed himself in cryptic parable, adage and proverb, one of which seemed to roll off his lips for all of the situations in the book'. Instead of merely reading the book aloud, Hinkson translated the text into Latin and before the evening passed, a 'considerable' portion of the work had 'become clothed in Latin, in which translation the subtle humor of the old philosopher was developed in a delightfully amusing way' (95). A knock at the door interrupted the process of translation, forcing them to leave the 'merry sheets of the Latinized "Wolf Boy"' aside. The unexpected callers, a woman and her uncle, were descendents of the Salkfelds, the original owners of the house, who had come seeking a memorandum of the family (96). On the eve of Independence Day celebrations, Hinkson shared some 'interesting gossip of pre-independence days' with his visitors and rummaged

through his documents, producing a letter penned by a previous Salkfeld (97). Because he was unwilling to part with the letter, Hinkson asked the lady to copy its contents on the 'back of a sheet of Latinized 'Wolf Boy in China'', making her a potential reader of the Hinkson version of Dalton's story (99). After the pair departed, Hinkson and McDonough returned to the story. McDonough's experience with the text became even more interesting when Hinkson, finding Lyu's 'journey through the Gobi desert' so 'drab', asked McDonough 'to provide an appropriate melody' to 'cheer him on his perilous way' (99). Before the fireworks ushered in the first minutes of the Fourth of July, McDonough, using the melody of the latest popular ballad 'Oh Dem Golden Slippers', pretended to be Lyu singing in the Gobi desert.

The China that McDonough and his friend read about in 1882 was many times removed from the China experienced by Le Comte in the seventeenth century, Staunton in the eighteenth century, and Huc in the nineteenth. However, regardless of the accuracy of the information presented about China in this novel, they enjoyed engaging with the text, interpreting it, and giving it new meaning. McDonough and Hinkson took 'a trip into China' along with Lyu, but instead of being submissive recipients of 'knowledge' of China transmitted from the seventeenth century onwards, they were active playful readers who worked collaboratively to find amusement in the text and creatively appropriated it for their own purposes.

Conclusion

Robert Knox, the influential British lecturer on anatomy wrote of the Chinese in 1850:

> China appears to have been completely stationary; she neither invented nor discovered; their arts must have belonged to some other race, from whom she borrowed without rightly comprehending them. Their religion is a puzzle; their morals of the lowest; of science they can have none, nor is it clear that they comprehend the meaning of the term. A love for science implies a love of truth: now truth they despise and abhor. I do not

> believe there is an individual Chinaman who could be made to comprehend a single fact in physical geography. So profound was their ignorance, their want of foresight and of common sense, that they could not send a single person to Europe so as to give any information about the armament which ultimately overthrew and plundered them. An English or French engineer possesses more practical knowledge than the united *savans* of their empire.[181]

Compared to Knox's evaluation of the Chinese, Anne Bowman and William Dalton provided a more complex vision of China in their novels for children. As the previous chapter has argued, one cannot come to a simple conclusion about Victorian children's texts on China because there are complicated views expressed in many of them. Even within the 1850s timeframe, the representation of China and the Chinese differed dramatically in the works of two authors who imparted and popularized 'knowledge' on China by incorporating 'facts' about China from leading Chinese 'experts' of the time into their fiction. Moreover, even the depiction of the Chinese in their earlier novels (*The Travels of Rolando* and *The Wolf Boy of China*) compared with the portrayal of the Chinese in their later novels (*The Boy Voyagers* and *The Wasps of the Ocean*) differs, because in the later novels we find more negative or conservative views of the Chinese. Bowman's Chinese are admired for their industrious character in *The Travels of Rolando* while the 'Celestials' are condemned for being scoundrels in *The Boy Voyagers*. Similarly, Lyu's 'Miao-ness' is celebrated in *The Wolf Boy of China* but he is 'whitened' and settles down to a typical English gentleman's life in London at the end of *The Wasps of the Ocean.* This conventional conclusion to the sequel of *The Wolf Boy of China* seems to suggest that as a grown man, Lyu/Herbert loses the freedom to be radically different. Despite reverting to a less radical image of the mixed-race hero, Dalton's knowledge of the Chinese language seems to have grown over the years because his decision to change Tchin's name to 'Ching' in *The Wasps of the Ocean* suggests that he may

[181] Robert Knox, *The Races of Men: A Fragment* (Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1850), p. 188.

have gained more knowledge of the difference between the French and British system of romanizing Chinese and chose to use the British method in his sequel.

Although there was already a considerable amount of knowledge about China published in the mid-nineteenth century, available sources for information on the interior provinces of China were more limited because Bowman and Dalton were preparing their novels before the Treaties of Tianjin (which allowed foreigners to traverse beyond the thirty-mile boundary surrounding the treaty ports) were signed in 1858. Therefore, many of their sources were published in the eighteenth-century and both novelists reveal the effects of reading these Enlightenment texts in their writings for the Victorian junior reader.[182] For Bowman, nature pointed to the existence of a Creator and therefore the more knowledge children gained of the natural world, the greater their reverence would be for God and the divine order. In addition to reflecting Enlightenment belief in natural theology, Bowman increased awareness of China's natural resources via borrowed passages from Robert Fortune's books, while Dalton contributed to increasing awareness of the different ethnic groups in China, particularly the Miao, via Du Halde's voluminous works. Bowman presents a more conventional view of China and the Chinese, painting the land as a rich emporium and imagining the landscape through the romanticized vision of the 'China' depicted on willow pattern plates and porcelain cups. Dalton also refers to these familiar household items but conveys an entirely different interpretation of the Chinese painted on them. The narrator of *The Wolf Boy of China* claims that the Chinese people, who look 'so ridiculous on our plates and dishes, for the simple reason that, having paid very little attention to the art of drawing, they have caricatured themselves… have really some reason to be proud of their race'

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[182] For discussion of the Victorian engagement with the eighteenth century, see B. W. Young, *The Victorian Eighteenth Century: An Intellectual History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

because they invented and discovered many things such as gunpowder, paper money, and printing.[183] Readers are informed that in reality the Chinese are *not* caricatures but highly creative, pragmatic people who were responsible for many useful inventions.

One of Bowman's main purposes for disseminating knowledge about China and the rest of the world was to instill greater appreciation for Great Britain, 'a country [...] where amidst the glorious vestiges of the past blossoms the promise of a still more glorious future' (*TR* 400). She exhibited confidence in the benefits of opening China up for religious and commercial purposes. Because she was writing after Britain's victories in the First Opium War and the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing while Dalton was penning his story during the Arrow Incident (1856) which sparked the Second Opium War, it is not surprising that Bowman was more hopeful about 'free trade' in China and the positive influence this would have on Britain.

Compared to Bowman, Dalton presents a much bleaker view of England's future, because a description of the Tower of the Thundering Winds in *The Wolf Boy of China*, which 'was built in the time of the philosopher Confucius, 2,500 years since' and 'now only partly in ruins', causes the narrator to ask,

> Where shall we all be in 2,500 years hence? Whole empires will have arisen, decayed, and become lost; nay, perhaps, the civilized inhabitants of some yet undiscovered country, may be sending out vessels of discovery to dig from the bowels of the earth monuments of that mighty England, that they will only know as we know Pompeii, Xanthus, and other cities—from books.[184]

Dalton's rumination on the rise and fall of empires reflects eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century ambivalences about the pursuit of Empire. The image of 'ruins' in *The Wolf Boy of China* point to the Romantic poets' works and C. F.

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[183] Dalton, *Wolf Boy*, pp. 10-11. See Chang's 'Garden, Plate, and Den' for discussion on why Victorians thought the Chinese paid 'little attention to the art of drawing'.

[184] Dalton, *Wolf Boy*, p. 300. Earlier in the story, Lyu observes ruined places in Guizhou that 'still bore remarkable traces of having once been inhabited by a numerous and ingenious people, for the fortifications, monuments, and bridges were very many, though partly in ruins' (244).

Volney's *The Ruins, or Meditations on the Revolutions of Empires and the Law of Nature* (1791), which highlights the transience of empire. While writing about China, Dalton is meditating on Britain: he is not confident that 'mighty England' will still reign supreme in 2,500 years. The disturbing fact is that England's status as a powerful Empire would not be everlasting because empires inevitably decline. Ultimately the light emanating from Britain's glorious monuments will extinguish. Perhaps Dalton was illustrating China's racial conflicts to stimulate readers to think about the tensions between the English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh and the implications these internal conflicts in national politics may have on Britain's future. He might even have been suggesting that if the Scottish, like the Miao, were in control of the government, Britain would have a 'glorious future'.

While Bowman and Dalton were writers who provided a great deal of information on China based on extensive research, the next chapter will focus on E. Harcourt Burrage, an author who approached China and the Chinese from an entirely different perspective.

Chapter Three

From Comic Trickster to Brilliant Detective: E. H. Burrage's 'Immortal' Ching-Ching

Figure 6: 'The stern dipped under the water and put them all in peril'[2]

A description of Canton would not fail to be interesting, for it is one of the most densely-populated places in the world. Its teeming life, its narrow streets, its gates, and the wall that surrounds it, the population on its river, and all the quaintness that distinguishes it throughout, have been written of again and again, and every schoolboy ought to know something of its wonders.
–E. H. Burrage *Daring Ching Ching* (1886)[1]

Sir John Francis Davis, Robert Fortune, Julia Corner, and other authors consulted by Anne Bowman and William Dalton in the 1850s all wrote about Canton.[3] By the 1880s, this important treaty port had become so familiar to the British that Edwin Harcourt Burrage (1839-1916), author of *Daring Ching Ching, or, the Mysterious Cruise of the Swallow*, felt justified in not providing a 'full description' of it because 'all the quaintness that distinguishes it throughout, have been *written of again and again*'.[4] He urged ignorant readers to 'rush to his geography' for information regarding this 'famous Chinese port' because they would

[1] E. Harcourt Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching* (London: Lucas, 1900), p. 224.
[2] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 233.
[3] See for example, volume 1 of John Francis Davis, *Sketches of China: Partly During an Inland Journey of Four Months, between Peking, Nanking, and Canton; with Notices and Observations Relative to the Present War*, 2 vols (London: Knight, 1841) and volume 2 of John Francis Davis, *The Chinese: A General Description of the Empire of China and Its Inhabitants*, The Library of Entertaining Knowledge, 2 vols (London: Knight, 1836). See also pages 161-96 of Julia Corner, *The History of China & India, Pictorial & Descriptive* (London: Washbourne, 1847) and Chapter X of Robert Fortune, *A Residence among the Chinese: Inland, on the Coast, and at Sea* (London: Murray, 1857).
[4] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 224. (my emphasis).

not find many details about it in his story.[5] Although Burrage wrote that 'every schoolboy ought to know something of its wonders', he chose not to mediate this growing knowledge about Canton and China for his young readers, urging them to consult the vast resources available to them on their own. He had confidence that they would be able to find the information themselves, a sentiment shared by an author for the children's periodical *Chatterbox* (1886-1953) who claimed in 1881: 'It is simply impossible to describe China in two columns or so of Chatterbox. Nor is it necessary. The knowledge of young people is so increased, that, as Lord Macaulay was called "A Book in Breeches", so every schoolboy may be termed "A Geography in Trowsers [*sic*]"'.[6] The *Chatterbox* author and Burrage reflect confidence about the amount of knowledge children were receiving in school and their ability to find information on their own without guidance from adults.

Burrage's approach to dealing with China and the Chinese thus differed dramatically from Bowman and Dalton: he was more interested in amusing his readers than imparting knowledge of China to them. This is indicative of the trend in children's literature in the latter part of the nineteenth century which saw a departure from an emphasis on instruction to an emphasis on amusement. In addition, the fact that Burrage was a hack writer who was pressured to produce many serials per week also suggests that he probably would not have had time to research the places he was writing about. Burrage does not seem to have consulted any secondary texts for his

[5] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching,* p. 224. Geography books that mention Canton include John Guy, *Geography for Children*, 21st edn (London: Allman, 1848), p. 78; Nicolas Lenglet Dufresnoy, *Geography for Children, or, a Short and Easy Method of Teaching and Learning Geography: Designed Principally for the Use of Schools*, 22nd edn (London: Johnson, 1806), pp. 99-100; *Geography, by a Lady; for the Use of Children* (London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1849), p. 83. Other children's books that describe Canton include Mary Frances Elizabeth Boscawen, *Conversations on Geography: or, the Child's First Introduction to Where He is, What He is, and What Else There is Besides* (London: Longman, 1854); Samuel G. Goodrich, *Peter Parley's Universal History on the Basis of Geography* (London: Parker, 1837); Aunt Helen [Helen Collins], *China and Its People: A Book for Young Readers* (London: Nisbet, 1862).
[6] 'A Tour around the World: 16. China', *Chatterbox*, XXII (1881), 174.

descriptions of China for this brief episode in *Daring Ching Ching* and probably based them on his limited knowledge and impressions of the country. For example, the scenes in China are compared to 'a willow-pattern plate multiplied by ten thousand, with hundreds of additional specimens of quaintness in it' such as 'uncouth idols, representations of monsters, odd-looking, unnatural shrubs, and a variety of Chinese eccentricities queer enough in appearance to take one's breath away'.[7] As can be seen in Figure 6, the prominent pagoda in the background and the Chinese man on the right-hand side of the illustration suggest that China is visualized through household familiar items like the willow pattern plate. Although Bowman also visualized China through porcelain, she presented the country as charming and picturesque while Burrage depicted it as an odd and eccentric curiosity.

The characters in *Daring Ching Ching,* led by Handsome Harry, sojourn in Canton as they attempt to stop a villain named Adrian. Ira Staines, a young American who has joined Handsome Harry's crew, regards China as a 'barbarian country' and emphasizes the importance of being acquainted with 'the language and manners and customs of the people' so that one is not misunderstood or 'taken up, hanged, or shot, or goodness knows what'.[8] However, unlike Bowman's Ki-chan in *The Travels of Rolando*, Ching-Ching, who is supposedly from Peking, is unable to function as a cultural informant for his non-Chinese friends who could introduce the language, manners and customs of the Chinese to them because he cannot communicate with the Chinese people he encounters in Canton, where he feels he is 'among barbarians who knew not his tongue'.[9] By using the word 'barbarians' to describe the Southern Chinese, the narrator distances Ching-Ching from them. Attempts at conversation with the Governor of Canton fail because neither had 'the

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[7] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, pp. 230-31.
[8] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 233.
[9] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 229.

least notion what the other said'.[10] There are two possible reasons for this situation. First, Burrage may have been accurately representing the dialect differences between the Northerners and the Southerners of China. However, when confronted with the question of where he is from, Ching-Ching merely replies that he lives in England but evades the question of whether he is a 'native of England'. His first response to the question is 'I arsk [*sic*] dem, I say, if dey see any reasoners for axing ob a queshion?' When asked again, he answers 'Dat am de queshion ob an ass!'[11] Therefore a more likely reason is that the scene is hinting that Ching-Ching is perhaps not really from China, because the narrator describes him as being 'wonderfully overcome' by the Governor's garden, which 'are to be found in every part of China'. If Ching-Ching was really from Peking, the text suggests, he would not have expressed 'astonishment' at the Governor's garden because 'there must have been similar gardens' in China's capital.[12]

The episode discussed above suggests that Ching-Ching, who first appeared as a supporting comic relief character in 'Handsome Harry of the Fighting Belvedere' (1876), a story serialized in *The Boy's Standard* (1875-92), and later featured in his own magazine called *Ching Ching's Own* (1888-93), is a distinctive character previously unimagined in children's fiction.[13] Contrary to being a stereotypical Chinese villain, he is an entertaining comic personality who later becomes a heroic detective. The emergence of Ching-Ching marks a transition from the pedagogical tendencies of authors such Bowman and Dalton, concerned to impart 'facts' about far-off China, to a more playful close encounter with 'the Chinese'. It is worth examining Ching-Ching in more detail as his popularity came to surpass that of

[10] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 231.
[11] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 230.
[12] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 231.
[13] Ching-Ching's name is later rendered as Ching Ching. In this chapter, I refer to the character as Ching-Ching throughout.

Handsome Harry, the 'young, handsome, tall, lithe, and muscular' typical adventure-story hero.[14] In addition, the readership of the Ching-Ching adventures most likely exceeded that of *The Travels of Rolando* or *The Wolf Boy of China* because the stories were serialized in cheap penny papers known as 'penny dreadfuls', making them more affordable than Anne Bowman and William Dalton's novels, which cost between three and five shillings. As mentioned in Chapter One, the texts examined in this thesis are hybrid commodities, and this is particularly evident in relation to Ching-Ching because the character was also a commodity that was used as a 'brand' to boost magazine sales. The 'Ching-Ching' name became profitable because like popular fictional characters Curious George and Harry Potter, Ching-Ching spawned related merchandise, ranging from posters to watches to medals, which were coveted items among young readers.[15] In 1889, there was even a 'The Ching Ching and Chums Marrionettes' show that toured around England and in 1910 a film based on his exploits called *Ching-Ching's Revenge* was released.[16]

Although Burrage initially operated within formulaic penny dreadful plotlines involving nasty pirates and brave sailors, he produced a subversive Chinese character which has thus far received little scholarly attention compared to (in)famous characters associated with the penny dreadful press such as Sweeney Todd, Dick Turpin, and Jack Sheppard.[17] The few twentieth-century critics who have written about Ching-Ching describe him as a popular 'Chinese teenage detective in

[14] E. Harcourt Burrage, *Handsome Harry of the Fighting Belvedere. Vols 1-3; &, Its Sequel Cheerful Ching-Ching* (London: Hogarth House, [1876?]), p. 32. Cheerful Ching-Ching is paginated separately.
[15] Daniel Hade, 'Curious George Gets Branded: Reading as Consuming', *Theory into Practice*, 40.3 (2001), 158-65. Posters were given away in the first four issues of *Ching Ching's Own* and on 9 November 1889 it was announced that twenty watches would be given away. See 'Announcement', *Ching Ching's Own*, VI.73 (1889), 127. Ching-Ching merchandise will be discussed in more detail in the latter part of the chapter.
[16] These will also be discussed in the latter part of the chapter.
[17] See for example, John Bush Jones, 'From Melodrama to Tragedy: The Transformation of Sweeney Todd', *New England Theatre Journal*, 2.1 (1991), 85-97; Matthew Buckley, 'Sensations of Celebrity: Jack Sheppard and the Mass Audience', *Victorian Studies*, 44.3 (2002), 423-63; James Sharpe, *Dick Turpin: The Myth of the English Highway* (London: Highway, 2004).

England' or 'a sort of juvenile Charlie Chan'.[18] None of these critics discuss Ching-Ching in detail however.

This chapter begins by introducing the history of the penny dreadful, I discuss how this genre allowed Burrage authorial freedom to create and develop an unconventional larger-than-life character such as Ching-Ching, who was known as the 'Immortal One'.[19] I then analyse Ching-Ching, examining possible sources for this character and factors influencing his characterization. In addition to discussing the possible reasons for Ching-Ching's popularity in terms of readership and marketing techniques, this chapter traces Ching-Ching's transformation from a trickster figure to that of a detective who contributes to restoring order, examining the implications of this representation. The final section discusses Burrage's attitudes towards race and compares them to Bowman and Dalton.

E. H. Burrage and the Penny Dreadful Press

As discussed in Chapter One, improvements in printing technology and the abolition of tax on paper greatly increased the number of cheap publications circulating during the second half of the nineteenth century. Writing in 1880, Francis Hitchman estimated that 'between five and six millions of penny papers' circulated in London every week.[20] The majority of these papers, he asserted, were characterized by 'a senile imbecility on the one hand, or an irrational sensationalism

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[18] Jess Nevins, *The Encyclopedia of Fantastic Victoriana* (Austin, TX: MonkeyBrain, 2005), pp. 161-62; E. S. Turner, *Boys Will Be Boys: The Story of Sweeney Todd, Deadwood Dick, Sexton Blake, Billy Bunter, Dick Barton, Et Al* (London: Joseph, 1957), p. 75; John Springhall, 'Disreputable Adolescent Reading: Low-Life, Women-in-Peril and School Sport "Penny Dreadfuls" from the 1860s to the 1890s', in *Disreputable Pleasures: Less Virtuous Victorians at Play*, ed. by Mike Huggins and J. A. Mangan (Abigdon, Oxon: Frank Cass, 2004), pp. 103-23 (p. 117).

[19] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 520. Burrage explained that 'The title of the 'Immortal One' is none of our own. It would have been very bad taste if we, the author of the stories, had bestowed it upon him. One of the readers bestowed it upon Chingy years ago, and since then hundreds—nay, thousands on thousands—have endorsed appellation'. E. Harcourt Burrage, 'In the Editorial Room: Confidential Chats with Our Boys No. 31', *Ching Ching's Own* VI.71 (1889), 96.

[20] Francis Hitchman, 'The Penny Press', *Macmillan's Magazine*, 43 (1881), 385-98 (p. 385). Hitchman was known mostly for his biographical studies. See Patrick A. Dunae, 'Penny Dreadfuls: Late Nineteenth-Century Boys' Literature and Crime', *Victorian Studies*, 22 (1979), 121-50 (p. 137).

on the other [...]'. People who read these papers, he continued, are 'not those who want to think, but those who wish to escape from thought [...]'.[21] The sensational papers that Hitchman referred to, whose origins can be traced back to the gothic novel, were often known as 'penny dreadfuls'. According to John Springhall, there are at least six different meanings for the term:

> First, it is used as a general term of abuse for cheap papers or fiction of any description written throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Second, it is used to describe highly coloured, criminal, or Gothic penny-issue novels of the 1830s and '40s, such as those issued by publisher Edward Lloyd (1815-90) from Salisbury Square in weekly or monthly parts. Third, a more appropriate application of the term is to the successors of these novels—directed, from the 1850s onwards, toward a more specifically juvenile market—culminating in the publications of the NPC [Newsagent's Publishing Company] of the 1860s. Fourth, 'penny dreadful' is just as often used as a label for penny magazines or the cheap weekly boys' papers appearing from the mid-1860s onwards, mostly associated with Edwin Brett or the Emmett brothers. And a fifth usage applies the term not only to the boys' journals themselves, but also to the long-running weekly serials they contained. These serials, if successful, were then published in separate weekly parts and later in collected shilling volumes, the latter of which provides us with a sixth definition.[22]

The Boy's Standard, the magazine that Ching-Ching first appeared in, fits into the fourth definition provided by Springhall. Because of the gory details and lurid woodcuts included in the stories, penny dreadfuls, usually eight or sixteen pages long, were described as 'blood-and-thunders' (or 'bloods') and 'gallows literature'.[23] Authors of these formulaic melodramatic tales, often writing under alliterative pseudonyms such as 'Ralph Rollington' or 'Brenchley Beaumont', depicted criminal

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[21] Hitchman, 'The Penny Press', 385.

[22] John Springhall, '"A Life Story for the People?": Edwin J. Brett and the London "Low Life" Penny Dreadfuls of the 1860s', *Victorian Studies*, 33.2 (1990), 223-46 (pp. 226-27).

[23] Sheila A. Egoff, *Children's Periodicals of the Nineteenth Century: A Survey and Bibliography* (London: Library Assn, 1951), p. 19; Elizabeth James and Helen R. Smith, *Penny Dreadfuls and Boys' Adventures: The Barry Ono Collection of Victorian Popular Literature in the British Library* (London: British Library, 1998), p. xii. The terms 'penny blood' and 'penny dreadful' have been used interchangeably by both Victorian commentators and contemporary researchers.

heroes who defied the law, killed without mercy, escaped, and triumphantly succeeded in whatever they did.

According to the author of an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, approximately five million children were enrolled in schools in England in 1887. This number reflects the effect of the Forster's Education Act (1870) on children's school attendance because after the Act was passed, children aged five to twelve were provided with the opportunity for elementary education.[24] The author of the article stated that these 'happy millions are being diligently crammed day by day [...] with every kind of so-called useful knowledge'.[25] However, because the schools were not able to satisfy their students' 'passionate desire for fiction', these newly literate children had to search elsewhere for entertaining reading. The article examines 'how far this demand for fiction is at present met, at what cost, with what materials, and with what result. If there be millions of youthful and hungry readers, what are they to read?'[26] The author found that 'penny dreadfuls' were in abundant supply and worried about the 'veritable mountain of pernicious trash' that 'millions of poor children' bought and 'devoured' with 'intense relish'.[27] Also writing in the 1880s, Hitchman claimed that 'literature for boys is a very important feature of the penny press. There are some fourteen or fifteen papers published for their amusement every week, with a total circulation of at least a million and a half [...] with few exceptions, these papers are silly and vulgar in the extreme, and that two or three are positively vicious'.[28] The fervour for penny dreadfuls among British youth has been regarded as the first kind of mass reading.[29] Teachers, clergymen, and journalists

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[24] 'The Literature of the Streets', *Edinburgh Review*, 165.337 (1887), 40-64 (p. 40).
[25] 'The Literature of the Streets', 40.
[26] 'The Literature of the Streets', 41.
[27] 'The Literature of the Streets', 43.
[28] Hitchman, 'The Penny Press', 396.
[29] For more detailed discussion see Kevin Carpenter, *Penny Dreadfuls and Comics: English Periodicals for Children from Victorian Times to the Present Day: A Loan Exhibition from the*

found it abhorrent that this 'garbage' was so popular among the young people, because, in their view, the implicit message of these 'dreadfuls' taught boys that the use of aggression was the most effective way to become rich. Critics objected to the coarse language, the glorification of crime, and disrespect towards authority exemplified in these stories.[30]

As Patrick A. Dunae points out, the critics were not as worried about the degradation of middle-class boys as they were about the plight of their working-class equivalents.[31] It was assumed that middle-class boys only read the penny dreadfuls occasionally, while susceptible working-class boys, who, like women, were unable to distinguish between fiction and reality, immersed themselves in these titillating stories. Some claimed that the penny dreadfuls were directly responsible for the rise in juvenile delinquencies.[32] Critics believed that the working-class boys' misdemeanours might evolve into serious crime if they were fed tales that were completely lacking in reason or morality. For example, in 1888, the journalist Edward Salmon condemned the 'poisonous sheets' for polluting young readers' minds, claiming that the 'young mind is a virgin soil, and whether weeds or rare flowers and beautiful trees are to spring up in it will, of course, depend upon the character of the seeds sown'.[33] In order for 'beautiful trees' to grow in the minds of the youth, critics argued, they should digest adventures stories by respectable authors such as Sir Walter Scott and Captain Marryat. The perceived increase in

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Library of Oldenburg University, West Germany at the Bethnal Green Museum of Childhood, 2 June-20 October 1983 (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1983).

[30] However, Jonathan Rose argues that while the middle-class critics viewed these texts as 'dangerous trash', working-class readers revealed in their memoirs that they thought of them as 'harmless trash'—knowing they were trash but still enjoying reading them for entertainment purposes. For more detailed discussion, see Jonathan Rose, 'Rereading the English Common Reader: A Preface to a History of Audiences', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 53.1 (1992), 47-70 (p. 59).

[31] Dunae, 'Penny Dreadfuls', 123.

[32] However, Dunae points out that there was actually a decrease in juvenile crime in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Dunae, 'Penny Dreadfuls', 150.

[33] Edward Salmon, *Juvenile Literature as It Is* (London: Drane, 1888), p. 233.

crime rates was not the only concern. The continuing rise of the working-class population was seen as potentially politically dangerous.[34] The middle-class minority worried that their power would be threatened if literate working-class youth grew up to favour radical journalism and 'misused' their electoral power when voting.[35] Others, such as Thomas Wright, deplored the penny dreadfuls not because they incited boys to criminality but because they 'usurped the place of the only reading by which, practically speaking, the foundations of a cultured taste could be laid, and the means to the end of a new happiness created [...]. He who as a boy is found as a reader of the dreadfuls, will, in the vast majority of cases, be found as a man in the ranks of the non-reading or uncultured classes'.[36]

Victorian boys were particularly attracted to the penny dreadfuls produced by the publishing houses of Edwin J. Brett and the Emmett brothers, who were representatives of the so-called 'gutter press'. In 1860, Edwin John Brett (1828-1895), a former engraver, became the manager of the infamous Newsagent's Publishing Company, which was known for producing violent penny serials such as *The Wild Boys of London; or the Children of the Night.* Eight years later, Brett left the company to open a new publishing house. Among the papers emanating from his company, *Boys of England: A Young Gentleman's Journal of Sport, Travel, Fun and Instruction* (1866-99) was the most successful, initially selling around 150,000 copies per week, four times more than the sales of his earlier papers. By the early 1870s, the weekly circulation of *Boys of England* had reached 250,000.[37] Although Brett claimed that his 'wild and wonderful' papers were 'healthy', 'honest', and 'pure', critics could see nothing positive about stories that glorified highwaymen,

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[34] Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1991), p. 19.
[35] Troy Boone, *Youth of Darkest England: Working-Class Children at the Heart of Victorian Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 66-68.
[36] Thomas Wright, 'On a Possible Popular Culture', *Contemporary Review*, 40 (1881), 25-44 (p. 36).
[37] Bristow, *Empire Boys*, p. 37.

pirates, robbers, and other outlaws. Of these stories, the Jack Harkaway series, which began in 1871 and continued for over thirty years (eventually featuring Harkaway's son and grandson), became one of the most popular serials in Britain.[38] Created by an unsuccessful lawyer named Samuel Bracebridge Hemyng, this character, who has been characterized as 'a likeable, fearless and full-blooded' boy 'who took the whole world for his oyster and remained aggressively English', was so popular that eventually most people referred to these the penny dreadfuls as the 'Jack Harkaway' type of publication.[39]

Brett's fiercest rivals were the Emmett brothers, whose publication titles bore striking resemblance to Brett's magazines: *The Young Englishman*, *The Young Briton*,

[38] The first Harkaway dies in *Jack Harkaway and His Son's Adventures Round the World* (1875) and his grandson appears in *Jack Harkaway's Journal for Boys* (1893). Kelly Boyd remarks that 'Harkaway was rare for the period in that he aged and was succeeded as hero of the tales by his son and grandson': Kelly Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855-1940* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), p. 58. According to Patrick Dunae, although the Harkaway stories were not as sensational as some other penny dreadfuls, parents were still very concerned about the content because 'youths like Harkaway waylaid travelers at gunpoint, led insurrections in the schoolhouse, and were not above forming questionable attachments with attractive and rather lusty old women': Dunae, 'Penny Dreadfuls', 130. The Jack Harkaway stories influenced authors such as Sir John Hammerton, who was pleased with their 'robust humour' and believed that penny dreadfuls such as the Harkaway stories 'wrought not one per cent of the harm to their boy-readers that the Gangster films have done to the boys of the last quarter of a century': J. A. Hammerton, *Books and Myself: Memoirs of an Editor* (London: Macdonald, 1944), pp. 20-21. Likewise, George Sampson, the author of *Concise Cambridge History of Literature*, revelled in the Jack Harkaway stories as well as other notorious penny dreadfuls featuring Sweeney Todd and Spring-Heeled Jack. See George Sampson, *Seven Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947), p. 39.

[39] Affectionately nicknamed after his most famous fictional hero 'Jack Harkaway', Samuel Bracebridge Hemyng (1841-1901) was an Eton-educated Barrister of Middle Temple whose literary career far surpassed his legal one. Among Hemyng's various characters, such as Hal Harkforward, Bob Fairplay, Rob Rollalong, Dick Lightheart, and Tom Tallyho, Jack Harkaway was by far the most popular. According to Turner, although it is not clear how much the Harkaway stories contributed to Edwin J. Brett's 76, 538 pound fortune, they no doubt contributed a substantial amount. However, Hemyng himself died practically penniless in London in 1901. See Turner, *Boys Will Be Boys*, p. 87. Reportedly, the demand for the initial Harkaway stories was so great that newsagents frequently fought outside the publisher's office (named Harkaway House) in order to be first to obtain copies of the latest Harkaway adventure. The Harkaway 'craze' was not limited to England, because stories featuring this character soon appeared in the American periodical *The Boys' and Girls' Weekly* (1866-84). Jack Harkaway also appeared on stage, in melodramas such as *Jack Harkaway at Sea* and *Harkaway among the Brigands* (1892). In 1910, a movie called *The Childhood of Jack Harkaway* was released by an American film company. For discussion of the Jack Harkaway stories see James and Smith, *Penny Dreadfuls and Boys' Adventures*, pp. 93-96 and Percy H. Muir, *English Children's Books: 1600 to 1900*, 3rd rev. impression edn (London: Batsford, 1979), pp. 111-12.

Young Gentlemen of Britain and *Sons of Britannia*.[40] In the end, Brett emerged as the winner in this publication battle, for the Emmett brothers were forced out of business in 1875. Other popular publishers include Charles Fox (editor of *The Boy's Standard*), Samuel Clark, and Albert John Allingham ('Ralph Rollington').[41] One of the Emmett brothers' former employees was Edwin Harcourt Burrage, creator of the Ching-Ching stories, who served as editor of Emmett's *Young Gentlemen of Britain* from 1868 to 1870.[42]

Born in Norwich, Norfolk in 1839, Burrage, known as 'the boys' Charles Dickens', initially aspired to be an artist, not a writer.[43] He began working on Fleet Street in the 1860s, where he rented a room in Wine Office Court and was briefly employed as an illustrator for the *Penny Mechanic*. However, after the magazine folded, Burrage could not find work due to his lack of artistic talent, causing him to reflect that his 'career as a draughtsman was simply two years of struggling with disappointment, waning hope, humiliation and despair'.[44] When he complained that he could not find a job, his friend Charles Stevens, one of the leading penny dreadful authors at the time, encouraged him to try writing, so he decided to submit a manuscript of a short love story to a 'publishing office of cheap journalism' near his

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[40] For further discussion on the rivalry between Brett and George, Henry Charlton, William Lawrence, and Robert Emmett, see Carpenter, *Penny Dreadfuls and Comics*, pp. 21-29.

[41] Fox was the former manager of the Emmetts' firm Hogarth House and took over it when they went bankrupt. He was singled out by Francis Hitchman in 'Penny Fiction' for owning 'a complete factory of the literature of rascaldom--a literature which has done much to people our prisons, our reformatories, and our Colonies, with scapegraces and ne'er-do-wells': Carpenter, *Penny Dreadfuls and Comics*, p. 22. Charles Fox took over many of Edward Lloyd's titles, including the famous 'Sweeney Todd' and also published many of his own papers, including the *Boy's Champion*, *Boy's Half-Holiday* and *Boy's Weekley Novelette*. See W. O. G. Lofts and D. J. Adley, *The Men behind Boy's Fiction* (London: Baker, 1970), p. 143. For more information about Ralph Rollington see Frank Jay, 'Death of Mr. Ralph Rollington', *Vanity Fair: An Illustrated Amateur Magazine Published in the interests of Amateur Journalism*, 2.17 (1925), 58.

[42] John Springhall, '"Boys of Bircham School": The Penny Dreadful Origins of the Popular English School Story, 1867-1900', in *History of Education: Major Themes*, ed. by Roy Lowe, III, Studies in Learning and Teaching (London: Routledge Falmer, 2000), pp. 386-408 (p. 394).

[43] John Springhall, 'E. H. Burrage's 'Carbineer and Scout': Another Henty Clone?', *Henty Society Bulletin*, IX.71 (1995), 3-9 (p. 3).

[44] E. Harcourt Burrage, *Ruin of Fleet Street* (London: E. W. Allen, 1885), p. 10. This is a temperance tract that provides some insight into his early career.

home.[45] A fortnight later, it was accepted for publication and not long after, Burrage 'secured regular engagement' and became 'a full-blown Bohemian', earning four pounds a week.[46] As a hack writer, Burrage often felt pressured to produce prodigious amounts of text in a short period of time, leading another boy's writer R. A. H. Goodyear to admit that his writing was 'sometimes slipshod [...] but always his stuff pulsed with animation and vivid incident, conceived by one of the most fertile imaginations that ever devoted itself to the entertainment of boyhood'.[47] Likewise, Burrage's obituary, which appeared in the *Surrey Mirror and County Post* after his death in March 1916, hailed him as 'a brilliant writer of boys' stories, which achieved great popularity in their time', who 'possessed a facile pen, a vivid imagination, and a prodigious capacity for work'.[48]

Burrage wrote prolifically, contributing hundreds of stories with titles ranging from 'Broad Arrow Jack' to 'The Lambs of Littlecote' to papers such as *Young Briton*, *The Boy's Standard*, *The Boy's Weekly Novelette*, *The Boy's World*, *Our Boy's Paper*, *British Boys* and *Boy's Stories of Adventure and Daring.*[49] Ching-Ching, who featured in stories published over a period of sixteen years, was undoubtedly his

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[45] Burrage, *Ruin of Fleet Street*, p. 17. Charles Stevens was the first editor of *Boys of England* and also wrote its first serial. According to Lofts and Adley, 'Stevens was probably one of the best writers for boys of his period, but he made the mistake of thinking he was also a good editor and publisher—his own 'Boys Book of Romance' was a failure. Apart from his own writings, perhaps the best thing Stevens did was to discover the later-to-become-famous Edwin Harcourt Burrage, in his early days': Lofts and Adley, *The Men behind Boy's Fiction,* pp. 319-20.

[46] Burrage, *Ruin of Fleet Street*, p. 24. It is possible that William Dalton and Burrage may have crossed paths because Dalton worked for the *Morning Advertiser* and *Daily Telegraph.*

[47] R. A. H. Goodyear, 'Stories I Liked the Most—and Least', *Collector's Miscellany*, 3 (1933), 44-46 (p. 46). Born in Yorkshire, Goodyear initially planned to work in law, but after his works were published in the *Boy's Friend* in 1895, he concentrated on his literary career. For more information see Brian Doyle, 'R. A. H. Goodyear', in *The Encyclopedia of Boys' School Stories*, ed. by Robert J. Kirkpatrick (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 136-37.

[48] 'The Death of Mr. E. H. Burrage', *Surrey Mirror and County Post*, 10 March 1916, p. 5. After his career on Fleet Street, Burrage lived in Reigate, Surrey for many years, and was elected a councillor of that borough in 1899. In 1916, he passed away at the age of 77 and was buried in Reigate Cemetery. His younger brother (Alfred Burrage), son (Athol Harcourt Burrage), and nephew (A. M. Burrage) were also writers of boys' fiction. For more information about Burrage's life, see Springhall, 'E. H. Burrage's "Carbineer and Scout".

[49] For a bibliography of Burrage's works, see Joanne Shattock, ed., *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, 3rd edn, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), IV, pp. 1762-63.

most famous and long-lasting character. In 'Ching-Ching Memoirs' (1926), A. Harcourt Burrage, who was also a boy's writer, reveals that his father modelled Ching-Ching on a Chinese man who lingered near Fleet Street, 'whose sole occupation was to occasionally distribute bills for a tradesman in the near vicinity'.[50] It is unclear where this Chinese man lived, but most likely he would have come from Limehouse Causeway and Pennyfields, which had been considered London's 'Chinatown' since the 1880s.[51] After 1865, when Liverpool shipping companies such as Alfred and Philip Holt's Blue Funnel Line began trading with China, the number of Chinese in Britain increased.[52] Not all of them came directly from China however. Some moved to Britain via the United States, fleeing American persecution. Because there were only 202 Chinese (mostly sailors) living in Britain in 1871, the racial landscape of 1870s and 1880s Britain was very different from the situation in the United States and Australia, where fears of the invasion of 'Asiatic hordes' had already exploded into several anti-Chinese campaigns, most notably during 1885-86 in California and 1887-88 in Australia.[53] In 1881, the population of Chinese in Britain was 665, and the number rose to 1,319 by 1911. While the majority of these Chinese were seamen, others ran laundries, shops, groceries, restaurants and

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[50] A. Harcourt Burrage, 'Ching-Ching Memoirs', *Vanity Fair*, II.22-24 (1926), 135-36, 149-50, 165-66 (p. 149). Athol Harcourt Burrage (born 1899) was also a boy's writer who contributed stories to *Chums* and *Scout*.

[51] Limehouse Causeway and Pennyfields were two narrow streets near the West India Docks. See Lynn Pan, *Sons of the Yellow Emperor: The Story of the Overseas Chinese* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1990), p. 85; Anthony Shang, *The Chinese in Britain* (London: Batsford Academic and Educational, 1984), p. 9.

[52] It was not until 1893 that the company employed a large Chinese crew, however. For more information about the Blue Funnel Line, see Gregor Benton and Edmund Terence Gomez, *The Chinese in Britain, 1800-Present: Economy, Transnationalism and Identity* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 80-84.

[53] The Chinese mostly lived in cities such as London, Liverpool, Cardiff, Bristol, and Glasgow. One of the earliest records of Chinese sailors appeared in a *Morning Chronicle* article dated 27 July 1782. By 1851, there were seventy-eight Chinese people in Britain. Ten years later, the number increased to 147. Pan, *Sons of the Yellow Emperor*, p. 84; Luke Trainor, *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism: Manipulation, Conflict, and Compromise in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 85.

lodging-houses.[54] According to Anthony Shang, nineteenth-century Chinese seamen jumped ship hoping to find better-paid work. Afterwards, they might have registered again as sailors in a British port so that they would be entitled to the same rates of pay as British seamen.[55] Gregor Benton and Edmund Terence Gomez point out at Chinese seafarers 'gained a reputation for being anarchic and uncontrollable as a result of their high degree of self-organisation and disregard for rules'.[56] This may have been a possible reason Burrage decided to make Ching-Ching an anarchic comic seafarer in *Handsome Harry.*

According to G. R. Searle, most late-Victorians in the 1880s 'would never have set eyes on a "coloured" person—except in such exotic settings as London theatres, fairs, and showgrounds, or during the Queen's two Jubilees of 1887 and 1897 [...]. "Coloured immigration" was on so small a scale that it hardly featured as a serious social or political problem'.[57] Ching-Ching's initial comic personality may have been based on the Chinese characters in British pantomimes, as Câecile Parrish suggests: 'Though based on the comic pidgin-speaking Chinaman of pantomime, he is resourceful, brave, honest, and invariably triumphant over bullies'.[58] Chinese characters in pantomime appeared on stage in the early nineteenth century. Noted pantomime actor Joseph Grimaldi performed the title character in *Whang Fong, the Clown of China* at Sadler's Wells in 1812, a pantomime which, according to David Mayer, included scenes of Chinese ladies quarrelling and throwing tea and

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[54] In 1901 it was estimated that sixty-one percent of the Chinese were involved in this type of work, in 1911 there were 1136 Chinese seafarers. See Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), p. 52; Pan, *Sons of the Yellow Emperor*, pp. 84-85. For more information on Chinese seafarers in Britain, see Benton and Gomez, *The Chinese in Britain*, pp. 66-80.
[55] Shang, *The Chinese in Britain*, p. 9. For more information on the history of the Chinese in Britain, see Benton and Gomez, *The Chinese in Britain.*
[56] Benton and Gomez, *The Chinese in Britain*, p. 310.
[57] G. R. Searle, *A New England?: Peace and War 1886-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 20.
[58] Câecile Parrish, *The Image of Asia in Children's Literature, 1814-1964* (Clayton, Vic.: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies Monash University, 1977), p. 16.

crockery.[59] A few years later, a pantomime called *Harlequin and Fortunio; or, Shing-Moo and Thun-Ton* (1815) was staged at Covent Garden, which featured many Chinese scenes and characters such as the Chinese Emperor and some Mandarins.[60] In one of Ching-Ching's stories about his family, he claims that his father was a tailor for the Emperor, a detail that Burrage may have borrowed from Aladdin because according to a poster for a performance of Aladdin at the Theatre Royal, Dunlop Street in 1866, Aladdin is the son of a Chinese tailor.[61] In the 1890s, Aladdin was depicted as a boy from Peking.[62]

Because the number of Chinese residents in Britain was quite small and most of his readers would probably have never met a Chinese man in person, Burrage could imagine a character like Ching-Ching living in England after his adventures around the world. In the later stories, Ching-Ching intermingles with various English residents of London, Saxondale, and Carlham without causing alarm or fears of the invasion of 'Asiatic hordes'. According to J. P. May, before 1906, the British attitude towards the Chinese presence in Britain was mostly one of indifference and even acceptance.[63] Benton and Gomez also report that the Chinese

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[59] David Mayer, *Harlequin in His Element: The English Pantomime, 1806-1836* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 140-41.
[60] Mayer, *Harlequin*, pp. 143-45.
[61] The performance was described as 'gorgeous pantomime', 'a most Magnificently Magnumptious Processional Production, Profusely Produced and Peculiarly Pretty'. Quoted in Gregory B. Lee, *Chinas Unlimited: Making the Imaginaries of China and Chineseness* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), p. 50. For the story of Ching-Ching's father as a tailor, see E. Harcourt Burrage, 'Cheerful Ching Ching', *Handsome Harry of the Fighting Belvedere. Vols 1-3; &, Its Sequel Cheerful Ching-Ching* (London: Hogarth House, [1876?]), p. 2.
[62] Raymond Mander and Joe Mitchenson, *Pantomime: A Story in Pictures* (London: Davies, 1973), n. pag. The pantomime Aladdin, first performed in London in 1788, underwent a change in 1861, when his mother became known as Widow Twankey, a name that had associations with a popular brand of Chinese green tea. See Lee, *Chinas Unlimited*, p. 50.
[63] J. P. May, 'The Chinese in Britain, 1860-1914', in *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society*, ed. by C. Holmes (London: Allen & Unwin, 1978), pp. 111-24 (p. 111). The Chinese community in England often congregated in specific areas and segregated themselves from the rest of the population. Colin Holmes suggests two possible reasons for this situation. First, the Chinese mostly regarded themselves as temporary residents who would return to China once they found it financially viable to do so. Secondly, they did not want to lose their 'superior' culture by mingling with the British. Many formed mutual aid organizations such as the Oi T'ung Association and the Chinese

who settled in London 'had a good reputation, particularly in prewar days'.[64] The situation in the United States and Australia was very different because of the large influx of Chinese immigrants in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The perceived threat from the Chinese was expressed in yellow peril invasion stories such as 'White or Yellow?: A Story of the Race-War of 1908' (1888).[65] Ching-Ching was a distinct product of the 1870s to 90s because the yellow peril ('Gelbe Gefahr'), a phrase coined by the German Kaiser in 1895, was not 'perceived as a realistic threat' in Britain until the early twentieth century.[66] He was therefore a uniquely British phenomenon.

The Ching-Ching Phenomenon

Ching-Ching first appeared in the story 'Handsome Harry of the Fighting Belvedere' (1876), which was serialized in *The Boy's Standard* (1875-92), a periodical criticized for 'sensationalism and silliness'.[67] The story begins on board the Belvedere, of which Handsome Harry is the captain. The crew is composed of multi-national individuals: Tom True, the first-mate, is 'noble, brave and upright'

Seamen's Union. See Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, pp. 53-54. However, Ching-Ching does not interact with other Chinese in the stories and neither does he segregate himself.

[64] Benton and Gomez, *The Chinese in Britain*, p. 108.

[65] According to David Walker, early invasion fiction published through the 1880s reflected British anxieties about Russia, France, Germany, and other more immediate European threats. One of the earliest invasion stories was Sir George Tomkyns Chesney's 'The Battle of Dorking', published in 1871. See David Walker, *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Asia 1850-1939* (St. Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1999), p. 100.

[66] Ariane Knüsel, '"Western Civilization" against "Hordes of Yellow Savages": British Perceptions of the Boxer Rebellion', *Asiatische Studien/ Etudes Asiatiques*, LXII.I (2008), 43-84 (p. 46). For an early example of the yellow peril story, see Matthew Phipps Shiel, *The Yellow Danger* (London: Grant Richards, 1898).

[67] Hitchman, 'The Penny Press', 397. 'Handsome Harry' was well-received in the United States, where it was reprinted four times in 'The Boys of New York', 'Happy Days', 'Golden Hours', and in weekly numbers. In 1899, Frank Tousey of New York published *Handsome Harry: Stories of Land and Sea*, a thirty-two-page weekly journal, which lasted for only five months, from 27 January to 12 May 1899. Although J. Randolph Cox claims that Tousey pirated Burrage's stories, it is possible that Burrage may have collaborated with Tousey in the past because he indicates that he was once 'engaged upon a journal published in New York' even though he had never been to the city. However, Burrage laments that the proprietor was forced to stop the journal because 'the rabid-minded New York boys, fed for the most part on the vilest literary abominations every produced, did not give the journal sufficient support to make it pay': E. Harcourt Burrage, 'One Word More', *The Best for Boys: Ching Ching's Own*, VII (New Series).101 (1892), 368. See J. Randolph Cox, *The Dime Novel Companion: A Source Book* (Westport, CT: Greenwood 2000), p. 126.

and described as 'a true British sailor—nimble, muscular, sunburnt, and good looking'.[68] Bill Grunt, a tall and powerful man of African descent, is the boatswain who is good friends with Eddard Cutten, a white man with a wooden leg, and with 'good-natured, easy, and simple' Samson, a giant African American who used to work as a slave on a cotton plantation.[69] Ching-Ching, who has all the physical features of a typical 'Chinaman'— a 'sallow face', 'almond-shaped eyes', and his head 'topped by a pigtail of great length', is first introduced to readers when he is caught stealing from the larder of the ship.[70] He soon joins the crew and embarks on exciting adventures.

At the beginning of the story, Handsome Harry, whose real name is Sir Henry March, is a mysterious character, but readers gradually piece together his life story as the plot progresses. Harry and his twin brother Harold were born in Wiltshire, England and grew up without a father, remembering that their mother was always in mourning. Later, they both fell in love with a girl named Leda Cardio. Knowing how much Harold loved Leda, Harry decided to devote his whole time to the sea and Harold, with the blessing of Don Salvo, Leda's uncle and guardian, proposed to his beloved. One day Harold tells Harry that a 'Captain Brocken' had asked for Leda's hand in marriage and openly declared that he would have her by any means. On their wedding day, Brocken abducts Leda and kills Harold. Leda subsequently dies of a broken heart on Brocken's ship, the Wild Jaguar. To avenge his brother, Handsome Harry leads his crew from Africa to England to Russia in search of Brocken, fighting pirates, slave traders, Frenchmen, Lascars, Brazilians, Africans, Russians, and

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[68] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 3.
[69] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 162. Samson might be based on Mesty –Jack Easy's friend who used to be a slave but later worked as a corporal on a ship in Captain Marryat's *Mr. Midshipman Easy* (1837).
[70] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 8.

brigands in the process.[71] After a series of betrayals, false accusations, and other adventures, Handsome Harry finally comes face to face with Brocken, but the captain, who turns out to be Harry's father, dies before Harry can kill him, supposedly from a contrite heart.

Commonly set on ships with titles such as *Mr. Midshipmen Easy* (1837) and *The Three Midshipmen in China* (1862), nineteenth-century boys' adventure stories often featured British midshipmen interacting with colourful eccentric characters.[72] Popular in the early nineteenth century, eccentric biographies, which provided entertainment and moral instruction, were read by many children, including Robert Browning and Charles Darwin.[73] The topic was so popular that there was even a periodical dedicated to the subject, called *The Eccentric Magazine, or, Lives and Portraits of Remarkable Characters* (1812-14).[74] Interest in eccentricity permeated into fiction, where echoes of the eccentric biography could be found in characters such as Charles Dickens's Mr. Pickwick.[75] In particular, readers of Victorian boys' adventure stories could expect eccentric characters ranging from the comic to the grotesque to appear in sea stories that were usually full of colourful national types.[76]

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[71] The plot bears similarities to the storylines of the 'Jack Harkaway' series, where Jack Harkaway and his sons enjoy many escapades around the world, in countries such as Greece, America, Cuba, Turkey, Italy, Australia, Singapore, and China. Authors of naval stories, argues Gallagher, often relied on rendering dialects to amuse readers: '[m]odes of eating and drinking, fighting and suffering, even insanity and delirium somehow seem entertaining in dialect': Catherine Gallagher, 'Floating Signifiers of Britishness in the Novels of the Anti-Slave-Trade Squadron', in *Dickens and the Children of Empire*, ed. by Wendy S. Jacobson (New York: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 78-93 (p. 81). The narrator of *Jack Harkaway and His Son's Adventures in China* reflects on the polyglot and cacophonic nature of the Flowery Land, the Chinese pirate junk where young Jack Harkaway is made captive, when he asks readers to 'imagine bad language being bellowed at each other by a dozen half-drunken men in four different tongues—to wit, Italian Chinese, Spanish, and worse than all, Dutch': Bracebridge Hemyng, *Jack Harkaway and His Son's Adventures in China* (London: 'Boy's of England' Office, 1870), p. 11.

[72] Gallagher, 'Floating Signifiers', p. 89.

[73] James Gregory, 'Eccentric Biography and the Victorians', *Biography: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly*, 30.3 (2007), 342-76 (p. 351).

[74] Henry Lemoine and James Caulfield, eds., *The Eccentric Magazine, or, Lives and Portraits of Remarkable Characters* (London: Smeeton, 1812).

[75] Even though after the 1860s, no new 'eccentric biographies' appeared, reprints and other texts ensured their survival. See Gregory, 'Eccentric Biography and the Victorians', 360.

[76] Gallagher, 'Floating Signifiers', p. 81.

In the *Handsome Harry* sea story, eccentric Ching-Ching functions mainly as a comic relief character: he 'often helped to lighten the daily lives of the men of the Belvedere'.[77] In most nineteenth-century adventure stories, Chinese seamen are either presented as pirates or cooks. Ching-Ching however, is neither, because he does not have a particular job to perform on the ship and mainly spins yarns or sings songs while they are at sea. For example, he explains:

> Me born in Pekin. Fader and moder berry rich, but soon die, and leave Ching-Ching to bad oncle. Oncle beat Ching-Ching—starve him—make dese legs and arms like bamboo cane. Den one day oncle take Ching-Ching into swamp and leave him to die, but sailor come –good sailor—and take Ching-Ching on to his ship. Good sailor's ship taken by the pirate—all killed but Ching-Ching.[78]

According to Michael Anglo, Ching-Ching's speech was a source of great amusement to young readers, who would try it out on each other: 'Drinkee for drunkee, velly goodlers'. 'You comee with me. We both have what foreign devils call a highee spree time. Me likee you velly much for friendlers'.[79] The image of children conversing in Pidgin English and referring to 'foreign devils' as if they were Chinese challenges Kathryn Castle's claim that the Other was regarded as undesirable.[80] Although it cannot be confirmed whether the dialogue described by Anglo actually took place, children, who are fond of communicating with each other using 'secret' languages, probably did try to imitate Ching-Ching's speech.

Anglo's rendering of Ching-Ching's speech follows typical understanding of historical Chinese Pidgin English, used mostly by Cantonese-speaking Chinese to communicate with foreign merchants during the nineteenth century, and often characterized by the replacement of 'l' for 'r' and the appending of 'ee' at the end of

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[77] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 131.
[78] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 9.
[79] Michael Anglo, *Penny Dreadfuls and Other Victorian Horrors* (London: Jupiter, 1977), p. 104. He does not provide evidence for this claim.
[80] Kathryn Castle, *Britannia's Children: Reading Colonialism through Children's Books and Magazines* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 8.

words. Although Ching-Ching occasionally replaces 'r' with 'l' such as in the words 'diffelent' and 'memloies', he often adds 'r' after words ending with 'e' instead of 'ee'. For example: 'it hab eber been a sourcer ob grief dat I neber learn it as it am spoker now'.[81] Therefore, strictly speaking he can pronounce 'r's. When Ching-Ching speaks, he usually replaces 'd' for 'th', 'b' for 'v', 'b' for 'f', and 'am' for 'is'. According to Eric Reinders, folklorist Charles G. Leland's *Pidgin-English Sing-Song; or, Songs and Stories in the China-English Dialect* (1876) 'popularized and reinforced Western perceptions of this pidgin [Chinese Pidgin English]'.[82] Although Burrage began writing about Ching-Ching in 1876, the same year *Pidgin-English Sing Song* was published, his rendering of Ching-Ching's speech does not adhere to the Pidgin English described in Leland's book.[83]

Although Burrage writes that Ching-Ching 'has a language of his own, but how acquired nobody can even guess', in reality, his speech is very similar to the African American character Samson, who also replaces 'd' for 'th' and 'b' for 'v'. For example, he says, 'You call me dat again and I bash your head agin de wall!!' and 'I lib and die for you'.[84] In *Racism on the Victorian Stage*, Hazel Waters discusses the markers of black speech and provides examples such as 'Look on dat ugly picter—den look ob dis' and 'I'll hab revenge'.[85] In addition to replacing 'th' with 'd', the character replaces 'f' with 'b' and 'v' with 'b', which is what Ching-Ching does. Because Ching-Ching speaks in a similar manner to Samson, it is possible that Burrage simply made him a generic ethnic Other in terms of speech without

[81] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, pp. 184, 229.
[82] Eric Robert Reinders, *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), p. 79.
[83] See Charles G. Leland, *Pidgin-English Sing-Song; or, Songs and stories in the China-English dialect, with a Vocabulary*, 2nd edn (London: Trübner, [1876] 1887).
[84] E. Harcourt Burrage, 'Ching Ching and His Chums Chapter I to Chapter II', *Ching Ching's Own*, I.1 (1888), 2; Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 1.
[85] Hazel Waters, *Racism on the Victorian Stage: Representation of Slavery and the Black Character* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 115.

understanding how Chinese Pidgin English was used in China.

While Ching-Ching is racially Other in terms of physical appearance and speech, readers can identify with his sense of playfulness and penchant for storytelling which transcend markers of nationality. Unlike the silenced marginalized minority who is not given a voice, Ching-Ching has an individual voice 'quite distinct from any known people', freedom of speech, and is capable of verbal anarchy.[86] Ching-Ching helps to 'lighten the daily lives of the men of the Belvedere' with his storytelling. In *Handsome Harry*, readers hear many stories about him. For example, Ching-Ching provides inconsistent stories about his father's death. Initially he attributes it to measles, then starvation, but later claims his father died of grief after a thief chopped off his pigtail. Another story alleges that his father was hanged for stealing a Mandarin's umbrella. In another account, his father supposedly died of heartbreak after his mother died of measles. Regarding himself, he claims that he had two wives: 'they were twins, and one wouldn't be married without de oder, so I propose to bof'.[87] He says they were married on a Monday, and on Tuesday he ran away. When he appears before a counsel, who commands Ching-Ching to state his age, he replies that he is 290 moons old, which the judge calculates to be about twenty-four years old.[88]

Ching-Ching conforms to the 'archetype of the yarning seaman', which, according to Trodd, 'imagines a perfect fit of teller and audience; everyone is hungry for stories'.[89] Despite the outlandish and far-fetched nature of his stories, everyone seems to be captivated by them. In particular, Samson has an eager appetite for Ching-Ching's yarns, and can even forget his painful wound as he looks forward to

[86] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 183.
[87] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 44.
[88] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 252.
[89] Anthea Trodd, 'Messages in Bottles and Collins's Seafaring Man', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 41.4 (2001), 751-64 (p. 754).

'the coming pleasure of listening to another of those truthful and marvellous stories related by Ching-Ching'.[90] Ching-Ching offers a 'new puzzle' for Samson to solve every day and each is 'a harder nut than the preceding one'.[91] Samson cannot solve any of them: 'His stories [...] bordered on the marvellous, but who could doubt when Ching-Ching spoke? Samson and a few others certainly did not hesitate to believe his lightest and heaviest utterances, but took them all as they came as pure, sparkling truth'.[92]

At the end of *Handsome Harry*, Burrage writes to the 'gentle reader' that he is 'pleased' that the adventures have 'been so very popular' and the second part will 'have a new title given to it ['Cheerful Ching-Ching'] in honour of the strange being who has made it what it is—a favourite'.[93] Although Handsome Harry still appears in 'Cheerful Ching-Ching', his name does not appear in the title of the story, suggesting that Ching-Ching has become the main attraction for readers. Following 'Cheerful Ching Ching', Ching-Ching embarks on other adventures in 'Daring Ching Ching' and 'Wonderful Ching-Ching: His Further Adventures'. In these early Ching-Ching stories serialized in *The Boy's Standard* and *The Boy's Leisure Hour* (1884-91), Ching-Ching is characterized as a kleptomaniac, gambler, drunk, liar, and practical joker (see Figure 7), who can get away with anything by using flattery and performing many tricks and stunts.[94] When he is sober, he is 'a very diplomatic person', but when drunk, Ching-Ching 'was apt to be reckless'.[95] Ching-Ching may have appealed to readers because unlike the archetypal white hero of boy's adventure stories, he is a mysterious comic storyteller who revels in anarchy but

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[90] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 247.
[91] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 308.
[92] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 298.
[93] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 279.
[94] *The Boy's Leisure Hour* was a reissue of *The Boy's Standard* and incorporated *The Boys' Half-Holiday.*
[95] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 47. Unlike stereotypical Chinese characters, however, he does not smoke opium.

demonstrates the ability to tackle 'members of Tongs, crooks, spies, and sundry other rascals with equal aplomb'.[96]

Despite having typical Chinese features, Ching-Ching disrupts the status quo and challenges readers' ideas about 'the Chinaman' in many respects. Writing of the trickster, Lewis Hyde argues: 'When he lies and steals, it isn't so much to get away with something or get rich as to disturb the established categories of truth and property and, by so doing, open the road to possible new worlds'.[97] Ching-Ching can be regarded as a trickster who relies on cunning manoeuvres to survive in the challenging and dangerous nineteenth-century world. Unlike ordinary men, Ching-Ching 'never walked—he glided; he never ran—he bounded like an india-rubber ball'.[98] Although he is 'light and bony', he is strong, quick, and agile, and manages to escape dangerous situations.[99] Like Bret Harte's 1870 character Ah Sin, a character in the successful poem 'Plain Language of Truthful James' (also known as 'Heathen Chinee') who, according to Jacqueline Romeo, is like the trickster because he disrupts the status quo by lying, stealing, and behaving subversively, Ching-Ching steals, but 'never appropriated for personal profit'.[100] Despite his many vices, Ching-Ching resists conventional Victorian stereotypes about the Chinese. He does

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[96] Anglo, *Penny Dreadfuls*, p. 104. Anglo asserts that Ching-Ching has 'the bland cheerfulness expected of Oriental heroes along with the diabolical cruelty associated with Chinese villains' (104). His assertion of Ching-Ching's 'diabolical cruelty' is not supported with evidence from the texts. I do not believe that Ching-Ching was crueller than Handsome Harry or other characters in the stories, since they all engage in acts of violence against the 'enemies'.

[97] Lewis Hyde, *Trickster Makes This World: Mischief, Myth, and Art* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998), p. 13. For recent discussion of the trickster figure in nineteenth-century American literature, see Therese M. Rizzo, 'The Sentimental Trickster in Nineteenth-Century American (Con)Texts', (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Delaware, 2008).

[98] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 183.

[99] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 18.

[100] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 327. Although Harry appoints some men to watch over Ching-Ching carefully, he still manages to steal many things from the ship. He steals at least ten times in the story. Bret Harte (1836-1902), born Francis Brett Hart, was an American poet and author. For more information, see Jacqueline Romeo, 'Irony Lost: Bret Harte's Heathen Chinee and the Popularization of the Comic Coolie as Trickster in Frontier Melodrama', *Theatre History Studies*, 26 (2006), 108-36.

not exhibit meekness or cowardice, but shows 'boldness and bravery'.[101] Ching-Ching, who may seem 'thin to painfulness', is able to surprise and defeat his enemies by playing into to their preconceived notions of the weak and effeminate Chinese male, when he reveals that 'every inch' of him is 'steel'.[102] Through tricksterism he is able to retain his personal autonomy in a world where people such as Don Salvo hate the Chinese for being 'a cursed, ugly race'.[103] He is able to dupe others that are more powerful than him. Instead of being a victim of practical jokes as other stereotypical Chinese characters were, Ching-Ching is more often than not the perpetrator of tricks on others. He is capable of causing chaos but also of restoring order.

Observing Ching-Ching in action is akin to watching a carnivalesque freak show. Because his 'limbs were as pliable as willow', he could also perform amazing tricks, such as twisting 'his legs about like elephants' trunks'.[104] When Ching-Ching is in action, he resembles 'an animated corkscrew' and 'every movement reminded the spectator of a very young and very active eel'.[105] These descriptions also remind one of marionettes on stage and the use of the word 'spectator' also heightens the theatrical effect of Ching-Ching's movements. 'A perfect master of a certain class of acrobatic feats', he resembles a comic contortionist because he has 'the power of screwing his face and body into strange shapes, and so to stiffen his pigtail that fairly stood out like a pump handle'.[106] Victorians were obsessed with freak shows and sensation.[107] Since the eighteenth century, Londoners whetted their appetite for the curious by going to see human show creatures 'marked by either superfluity or

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[101] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 230.
[102] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 312.
[103] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 45.
[104] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 183.
[105] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 183.
[106] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, pp. 211; 374.
[107] For more information, see Chapter Nine of Matthew Sweet, *Inventing the Victorians* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001), pp. 136-54.

deprivation'.[108] For example, in 1890, the Ching Goffs, two acrobats who 'excel[led] as contortionists', performed 'some surprising feats in the costume of Chinamen' in Brighton and London.[109] Earlier, in 1863, Kung Costello, the Chinese contortionist, 'excite[d] the lovers of the wonderful to their heart's content'.[110] From 1865-66, Londoners flocked to the Egyptian Hall to see Chang, the Chinese Giant, who was approximately eight feet tall, his wife Kin Foo, a three-foot-tall Chinese dwarf named Chung Mow, and a dozen other Chinese.[111] Chang (1841-1893) reportedly spoke up to ten languages and later toured in Europe, America, and Australia. At around the same time, another Chinese dwarf, Chee Mah, appeared at the Crystal Palace, touted as the 'smallest man in the world'.[112] Conjoined twins Chang and Eng, better known as the Siamese Twins, performed headstands and other tricks in Edinburgh in the 1860s. According to a contemporary British newspaper, contrary to other 'objects of public curiosity', the twins did not exhibit 'forwardness' nor 'the *mauvaise honte* which would render visitors uneasy in their intercourse with them'.[113] Unlike the Twins, who wore 'gentlemanly' Western suits, Ching-Ching continues to wear his loose-fitting Chinese garb even after settling down in England.

In the early Ching-Ching stories, Ching-Ching's charm attracts women from all parts of the world, albeit mostly lower-class white women or foreign women, suggesting that as a Chinese seafarer he was only worthy of females of similar class. He settles down in Carlham, England after marrying Alma Warrenham's maid

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[108] For more information on freak shows in London, see Richard Daniel Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1978), p. 43.
[109] 'The London Music Halls', *The Era*, 18 January 1890, p. 16.
[110] 'London Music Halls', *The Era*, 8 March 1863, p. 11.
[111] The 'Chang, the Chinese Giant' show was also staged at the Royal Aquarium circa 1880. See 'Royal Aquarium. Chang the Great Chinese Giant', British Library; <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/evanion/Record.aspx?EvanID=024-000001743&ImageIndex=0> [accessed 19 September 2009]
[112] *The Era*, 8 April 1866, p. 6.
[113] 'Twins in Edinburgh', *Hull Packet and East Riding Times*, 1 January 1869, p. 7.

Annette, who he met in 'Wonderful Ching-Ching'.[114] Annette initially rejected Ching-Ching's advances because she liked 'deferential men' and was angered by his 'all-abounding confidence' and 'unruffled assurance'.[115] Her 'hatred for foreigners' incited her to vilify him as 'a worm, a foreign viper, a thingammy with a pigtail'.[116] It was only when Ching-Ching was feared dead that Annette realized her true feelings for him. Despite admitting her desire to marry Ching-Ching, she wanted to keep their relationship a secret, perhaps because she was afraid that other people would ridicule her for rejecting him so blatantly before. Her initial rejection of Ching-Ching and subsequent marriage serve as an example of the simultaneous repulsion and attraction towards the Other documented by critics such as Robert Young.[117] Back in England, Annette gives birth to Young Ching-Ching, who 'is as much like his father as a son can be, and the effect was heightened by his being similarly attired. The only thing he lacked was the pigtail, which with him was in a budding state, and looked as much like an inverted radish as anything else'.[118] Although Tom True 'never liked a half-caste' in *Handsome Harry*, the fact that Young Ching-Ching is a mixed-race child does not become an issue in any of the stories. In fact, he speaks and acts like a typical naughty British boy, leading other boys to commotion at school and around the village.[119]

In *Young Ching-Ching*, Ching-Ching becomes a doting father who constantly

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[114] After Brocken's death near the end of 'Handsome Harry', Harry sails to South America and marries Juanita, Don Salvo's daughter. However, Don Salvo, who financed the Belvedere because he also wanted to see Captain Brocken dead, snatches his daughter away and forces her into an asylum, claiming that she is an escaped lunatic. In 'Cheerful Ching Ching', Handsome Harry exhibits 'bravery and coolness' by going to Egypt and Turkey via France to save 'gentle Juanita', who has been locked up in a lunatic asylum in Cairo and disowned by her father because she dishonoured him by marrying Harry and neglecting her duty towards him. After a series of exciting events, Handsome Harry and Juanita return safely back to England, accompanied by Don Salvo, who has repented his lifetime of sin and reconciled with his daughter. See Burrage, 'Cheerful Ching Ching', p. 2.
[115] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 383.
[116] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 375.
[117] For more discussion on attraction and repulsion towards the Other see Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995).
[118] E. Harcourt Burrage, *Young Ching-Ching* (London: Fox, 1886), p. 4.
[119] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 3.

tries to get his son out of trouble, usually by using his 'oily tongue'.[120] In England, Ching-Ching is labelled a 'Celestial gentleman' and hosts Christmas parties every year, suggesting he had become Westernized.[121] The image of a Chinese man seated at the head of a table hosting a Christmas dinner in an English village was probably previously unimaginable (see Figure 8). Like Herbert/Lyu who sheds markers of his 'Miao-ness' when he settles down with his wife Little Waif in London at the end of *The Wasps of the Ocean*, Ching-Ching gradually becomes an 'upright citizen' and authority figure as the Ching-Ching series progress. This particularly evident in the stories serialized in *Ching Ching's Own.*

Circulation and Readership

Francis Hitchman remarked in 1881 that publishers 'are much the same as other tradesmen—they sell the goods for which their customers ask'.[122] In 1888, responding to the success of 'Handsome Harry', 'Cheerful Ching-Ching', 'Daring Ching-Ching', 'Wonderful Ching-Ching', and 'Young Ching-Ching', Burrage launched *Ching Ching's Own: A Journal that Will Please the Boys* (1888-93), serving as editor of the weekly paper touted as 'the best investment for a penny ever put before the world' that featured up to eighteen illustrations in each issue.[123] Starting from No. 27, it was expanded from an eight-page paper into a sixteen-page journal ('owing to the large circulation it gained, and by the wishes of its readers') with up to three serials per issue, a weekly novelette, puzzle column, correspondence page, and other features. For example, there was 'Ching Ching's Natural History' column, which was '[d]ictated by Ching Ching and penned by

[120] Burrage, *Young Ching-Ching*, p. 15.
[121] E. Harcourt Burrage, 'Royal Feasting: A Ching-Ching Paper', *The Boys' Standard*, 305 (1881), 268-70. See also 'Ching-Ching's Christmas Party', *The Boy's Leisure Hour*, V (1886), n. pag.; E. Harcourt Burrage, 'Ching Ching's Christmas Number', *Ching Ching's Own*, III.27 (1888), n. pag.; E. Harcourt Burrage, 'A Jolly Christmas Eve Ching Ching's Own Double Christmas Number', *Ching Ching's Own*, VI.75 (1889), n. pag.
[122] Hitchman, 'The Penny Press', 398.
[123] 'Notices', *Ching Ching's Own*, I.7 (1888), 55.

Eddard during their leisure hours, some years ago'. It provided information such as 'De kangabroo was firse discobered in Australey, and dere am no reaser to speck dat it eber discobered anywhere elsele, as it am known dat it not an exister in any oder countree [...]'.[124] In addition, it was advertised that Ching-Ching would 'relate some new stories of his early life for the edification of the passengers and his chums' in future issues.[125] Many stories serialized in *Ching Ching's Own,* such as 'Ching Ching and His Chums: A Most Mirthful, Moving, and Mysterious Story', 'Young Ching-Ching at School: or, Grand Old Times for the Slapcrashers', 'The Wild Adventures of Jam Josser & Eddard Cutten at Home and Abroad', and 'Ching Ching on the Trail: A New Style of Detective Story' were later published in book form.

As Andrew King points out, circulation figures for most nineteenth-century periodicals are unreliable because 'either they are part of the magazine's or the publisher's self-puffing or they partake in the cultural wars'.[126] I have been unable to locate circulation figures for *Ching Ching's Own*, but evidence of 'self-puffing' can be found in an 1892 article, where the editor claimed that 'If all the volumes of "Handsome Harry" and the Ching Ching works issued during the last fourteen years could be collected, and piled on top of St. Paul's, the weight of the binding alone would crush down the sacred edifice and make a pancake of it'.[127] However, in another issue, the editor conveniently forgot his prior 'self-puffing' when he stated:

> This is not a journal in which you will ever read staggering statements of the miles of paper used by us weekly. That sort of thing is got up for the weak and foolish, and no doubt it pays; but it is not pleasant work writing-up such miserable stuff, tongue in cheek, and haunted by the sensation of feeling like an unmitigated humbug. Miles of paper are used in every office of any size daily. A boot-maker might as well bawl out the length of

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[124] E. Harcourt Burrage, 'Ching Ching's Natural History', *Ching Ching's Own*, I.3 (1888), 23; E. Harcourt Burrage, 'Ching Ching's Natural History', *Ching Ching's Own*, I.7 (1888), 55.
[125] 'Chingy's Own Yarns', *Ching Ching's Own*, II.Novelette No. 17 (1888), 4.
[126] Andrew King, *The London Journal 1845-83: Periodicals, Production, and Gender* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 82.
[127] 'Weekly Chat New Series XLIV', *The Best for Boys: Ching Ching's Own*, VI (New Series).72 (1892), 102.

> the boot-laces, placed end to end, worn by his customers. It is only during recent years that such puerile calculations have come to the front [...][128]

In terms of actual numbers, a vague estimate of 'many thousands' of subscribers was given in 1890.[129] On 17 August 1889 Burrage informed readers that a Canadian and Australian edition of *Ching Ching's Own* had been published for the colonies and although the readership was not large, it was growing. Later that year, Burrage claimed that on 24 September his agent in Australia 'cabled for the weekly edition to be *increased sixfold*' and remarked on the considerable sales growth of the magazine, which was 'an amazing fact in the face of the vast number of boys' journals, good, bad, and indifferent, now in circulation'.[130]

The 'vast number' of different boys' journals that competed on the market between 1880 and 1918 has been estimated at over three hundred.[131] In this highly competitive environment, many magazines folded within a year and others sprang up to replace them. Even the acclaimed boy's journal *Union Jack* (1880-83), first edited by W. H. G. Kingston and later G. A. Henty, lasted merely three years. In order to survive among the numerous publications vying for readers' attention, it was important for a periodical to distinguish itself from the others. In the first issue of *Ching Ching's Own*, Burrage proposed to 'go in for variety' and stated his intention 'to try something different from the old thing'.[132] Andrew King has analysed the significance of a periodical's title, pointing out that the title establishes boundaries and 'producers choose a name in order to imply to purchasers a

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[128] E. Harcourt Burrage, 'In the Editorial Room: New Series--LXXXV', *Ching Ching's Own*, X (New Series).120 (1893), 47.
[129] E. Harcourt Burrage, 'The Ching Ching Mystery', *Ching Ching's Own*, I-II new series.1-14 (1890), 88.
[130] Burrage, 'In the Editorial Room: Confidential Chats with Our Boys No. 31', 96 (emphasis in the original). It is difficult to determine circulation figures for penny dreadfuls. According to Springhall, popular penny dreadfuls probably sold between 25,000 to 30,000 copies per week. See Springhall, 'A Life Story', 233. Elsewhere, estimated weekly sale amounts range from sixty thousand to two million. See 'The Literature of the Streets', 43; 47.
[131] Kirsten Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines, 1751-1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 123.
[132] 'To All Boys Who Speak the English Tongue at Home and Abroad', *Ching Ching's Own*, I.1 (1888), 3.

genealogy'.[133] The initial title *Ching Ching's Own*: *A Journal that Will Please the Boys* serves as an indicator of Ching-Ching's popularity because the producers must have been confident that potential buyers would recognize this name and want to purchase the periodical based on their interest in the Ching-Ching stories. The periodical changed names twice, first becoming *The Best for Boys—Ching Ching's Own*, then shifting to *The Best for Merry Boys—Ching Ching's Own* possibly because the 'Ching-Ching' name became less well-known over the years. According to the editor, the reason for the first change in title was 'in response to the request of a host of our young friends' to 'make it clear to everybody that *Ching Ching's Own* is a Journal for Boys'.[134] Because those who had not read *Handsome Harry* in the past may not have known whether Ching-Ching was a male or female by looking at his name, the editor might have wanted to assure boys that this journal was targeted at them. The reason for the second change in title was cited as the editor's efforts to 'move with the times and meet the spirit of the age'.[135] In addition to a change in title, the front illustration was printed in colour. However, probably due to high production costs, the magazine eventually merged with a new journal, *Bits for Boys*, in 1893.

Although *Ching Ching's Own* was defined as a boy's journal, the title did not seem to deter girls from reading the periodical, perhaps because in the initial *Handsome Harry* story, Burrage addressed readers as 'my little children—brave boys and girls'.[136] In 1888, to reassure his female readers that they were not in the

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[133] King, *The London Journal*, p. 49.
[134] 'Our New Heading', *Ching Ching's Own*, VII.91 (1890), 208.
[135] E. Harcourt Burrage, 'Please Read Carefully', *The Best for Merry Boys: Ching Ching's Own*, VII (New Series).100 (1892), 351. On the last page of the final issue of *The Best for Merry Boys—Ching Ching's Own*, the editor writes: 'we ask those who have long supported us, from the first issue of 'CHING CHING'S OWN' to this—the last—issue of 'MERRY BOYS', to rally round our flag, and not only test the value of the fresh departure themselves, but induce their friends to support us': E. Harcourt Burrage, 'Announcement', *The Best for Merry Boys: Ching Ching's Own*, XI.143 (1893), 208.
[136] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p.143.

minority, Burrage wrote in response to a 'brother and sister' from Dublin that 'Of course girls read our Journal—thousands of them, and why should they not?'[137] However, Burrage clearly defined his production as a boy's journal because on 8 September 1888 he responded to a female reader that 'a girls' story would be out of place in this journal. The appearance of the first chapters would promptly lead our office being invaded by a host of indignant boys demanding all sorts of compensation for the intrusion of such matter'.[138] Considering that according to Burrage's definition, boyhood only lasted for 'five or six years', and 'the child of to-day will be the boy of to-morrow, and in a very little while that boy will be a man', it is not surprising that he wanted to convey the impression that adults also enjoyed reading the stories.[139] For example, he printed a letter from a reader named Ernest J. Preston in 1888 claiming that his parents want to be the first to read *Ching Ching's Own.*[140]

Scholars of periodicals have debated the use of correspondence columns as evidence of 'real readers', questioning the authenticity of the letters published.[141] As editor of *Ching Ching's Own*, Burrage himself faced such accusations and addressed this issue in 1889: 'A great many people think it is not genuine, but composed to fill up a column or two [...] *Ching Ching's Own* requires no padding of that sort. Every answer [...] is a genuine reply to a letter received'.[142] Although it is impossible to verify whether Burrage penned the letters from imaginary enthusiastic readers or

[137] 'Correspondence', *Ching Ching's Own*, I.5 (1888), 63.
[138] E. Harcourt Burrage, 'Correspondence', *Ching Ching's Own*, I.12 (1888), 95.
[139] 'Our New Heading', 208.
[140] Ernest J. Preston, 'Correspondence', *Ching Ching's Own*, III.27 (1888), 15.
[141] Linda Frost, *Never One Nation: Freaks, Savages and Whiteness in U.S. Popular Culture, 1850-1877* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2005), pp. 190-91.
[142] E. Harcourt Burrage, 'In the Editorial Room: Confidential Chats with Our Boys No. 19 '*Ching Ching's Own*, V.59 (1889), 112. Earlier on 10 November 1888, he informed readers, 'We learn that there are a few people who will not believe that our correspondence is genuine, but assert that the letters appearing in our columns comes from particular friends. We beg to assure our readers that every letter inserted here comes spontaneously from those who are, indeed, our friend, but of whom we have no personal knowledge whatever': E. Harcourt Burrage, 'Correspondence', *Ching Ching's Own*, II. Novelette No.21 (1888), 4.

selected only positive responses to include in the correspondence columns, they are still worth examining because as Linda Frost argues, 'these columns indeed constitute bodies of readership, constructions that, imaginary or not, are always also a reflection of an imagined desire within the general population'.[143]

Clever mechanisms employed by Burrage to ensure reader participation contributed to sustaining sales figures through the years *Ching Ching's Own* was in circulation.[144] For example, readers could exercise their imagination and artistic skills by participating in the 'Editor Portrait Competition' and submitting their artistic rendering of Burrage's image. Later, a notice appeared in Vol. III explaining that in response to readers who have 'expressed a desire to have a photograph of "their own Editor"', Burrage decided to offer readers a 'cabinet size' copy of his portrait 'post free, for twelve stamps'.[145] Author portraits were popular in the 1890s, and many publishers tried to attract readers by promising free images of their favourite authors. For example, a company reissued George Meredith's *The Tragic Comedians* in 1891 with 'a Photogravure Portrait of the Author' and 'Two other Portraits Engraved on Wood'.[146]

Burrage displayed ambivalent attitudes towards prize-giving, a common method of attracting readership. In the first issue of *Ching Ching's Own*, readers were informed that 'this journal intends to include a lithographed authentic, full-length portrait of various figures (one with each number), a complete boys' novelette with each number, a complete story, and a silver medal of honour'.[147] Full-length

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[143] Frost, *Never One Nation*, p. 191.
[144] For early examples of reader interaction in boy's magazines, see Louis James, '"Now Inhale the Gas": Interactive Readership in Two Victorian Boys' Periodicals, 1855–1870', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 42.1 (2009), 64-80.
[145] 'Notice', *Ching Ching's Own*, III.34 (1889), 126.
[146] For more examples, see Margaret Diane Stetz, 'Life's "Half Portraits": Writers and Their Readers in Fiction of the 1890s', in *Nineteenth-Century Lives: Essays Presented to Jerome Hamilton Buckley*, ed. by Laurence S. Lockridge, John Maynard and Donald D. Stone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 169-87 (p. 172).
[147] 'To All Boys', 3.

portraits of Ching-Ching, Eddard, and Samson were provided in the first few issues. During the initial launch of the new magazine, the editor splurged on '100 handsome prize cups, splendidly engraved' for 'boys who have made the best Cricketing and Boating Averages for their respective clubs—town and country'.[148] A reader named James Coombes wrote to the editor from Shottermill, Haslesmere, Surrey calculating that 1,016 Stamps, 41 Cups, 84 Editorial Portraits, 411 Certificates, and 480 Medals were given away from 1 January to 30 March 1889.[149] However, Burrage later condemned the trend of prize-giving, rationalizing that it was not beneficial for readers because 'for every shilling given by the editors of journals, the public pay in paper and stamps a pound'.[150] Influential publisher George Newnes (1851-1910) initiated several promotional campaigns to increase the circulation figures of his *Tit-Bits*, such as offering a guinea as prize money for submissions to a weekly competition for the 'Prize Tit-Bit'. While Newnes's foray into what Peter D. McDonald terms 'participatory journalism' was successful, Burrage's attempt was less so: although the magazine offered 'small rewards' to amateur authors and artists, the results were 'most disheartening' because the submissions were mostly 'totally unfit for publication'.[151] In 1892, the editor admitted that the 'school of instruction', which aimed to give feedback to readers' writing, was 'a comparative failure' and attributed the reason for this failure to 'the thirst of the rising generation to make money "without any bother"'. He blamed the 'increasing body of unscrupulous

[148] '100 Handsome Prize Cups', *Ching Ching's Own*, I.11 (1888), 83.
[149] 'Correspondence', *Ching Ching's Own*, V.57 (1889), 78. By 20 October 1888, the names of one thousand readers had already been appeared on Ching Ching's Order of Merit. See 'Ching Ching's Order of Merit', *Ching Ching's Own*, II. Novelette No.18 (1888), 4.
[150] Burrage, 'Please Read Carefully', 351.
[151] Peter D. McDonald, *British Literary Culture and Publishing Practice 1890-1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 146; E. Harcourt Burrage, *Ching Ching's Own*, IX.113 (1890), 127. In choosing to revert to printing on white paper instead of pink, the editor explains that this decision was based on readers' complaints that they cannot read print on pink and that it makes them tired to read on pink. It may also have been because the colour pink was associated with girls. See 'Correspondence', *The Best for Boys: Ching Ching's Own*, II (New Series).22 (1891), 142. He may have initially decided to use pink paper because some Harmsworth magazines were printed on pink or green paper. See Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines*, p. 127.

editors' for whetting the appetite of readers by 'giving, or pretending to give, prizes of abnormal value'.[152] Whereas this might be a valid reason for not renewing the system of giving prizes, another possibility might have been simply a lack of finances.[153]

The Ching-Ching characters were not confined to the written word or two-dimensional posters, but 'came to life' in 'The Ching Ching and Chums Marionettes' show at 'School Treats, Foresters' and Temperance Fetes, Flower Shows, and Bazaars' as they toured through the United Kingdom during the spring and summer of 1889.[154] Readers interested in attending the shows were encouraged to contact Ching's Entertainment Department at 42, Essex Street, Strand, London. To strengthen the bond between readers, the editor urged members of the Ching Ching League to wear a piece of yellow ribbon ('Chingy's colours') when they attended Ching Ching Punch and Judy, Marionette, and Ventriloquial Entertainments so that 'Eddard may recognise Chingyites among the audience' and all who did so were promised a present after the show.[155] In the 8 June 1889 issue of *Ching Ching's Own*, there was an announcement for readers in the Maidenhead, Abingdon, Oxford, and surrounding area that 'Ching Ching Ventriloquist, and Ching Ching Marionettes' would be coming in June and they would be admitted to the Grounds for free by showing a copy of *Ching Ching's Own* at the gates.[156] On 13 July 1889 the editor responded to a reader named Orlando that he was not sure when the marionettes would be able to come to Colchester, indicating that readers were eager to see the

[152] E. Harcourt Burrage, 'In the Editorial Room', *Ching Ching's Own*, X (New Series).119 (1892), 30.
[153] According to Sally Mitchell, 'For whatever the editors or authors may have tried in attempt to shape the values of penny magazine readers, the final argument is essentially financial. A penny weekly had to sell around 30,000 copies to meet its fixed expenses'. Many of the magazines did not reach enough buyers to be self-sustaining. See Sally Mitchell, *The Fallen Angel: Chastity, Class, and Women's Reading, 1835-1880* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1981), pp. 4-5.
[154] E. Harcourt Burrage, 'Important Notice', *Ching Ching's Own*, IV.43 (1889), 63.
[155] 'Notice to Subscribers', *Ching Ching's Own*, V.57 (1889), 78.
[156] E. Harcourt Burrage, 'Announcement', *Ching Ching's Own*, IV.51 (1889), 191.

show.[157] In 1910, Ching-Ching appeared on the big screen in a silent film called *Ching-Ching's Revenge* that was distributed by Walturdaw, with the script reportedly based on the stories of E. H. Burrage.[158]

Ching-Ching was so vividly written that some believed he really existed. For example, the following letter from a reader named Adam Bridges reveals that he wanted to meet Ching-Ching in person: 'My dear Ching Ching—Do you remember when I used to try to see you when the great Ching Ching made his first bow before the public? I was always at the office asking for you, and the only answer I got was that you were not to be seen'.[159] According to A. Harcourt Burrage, 'Often, when a country reader was in town, he would call to see "Mister Chingy" or "Master Sammy" and others, and Eddard Gritten [Cutten] was even honoured thus. The anxious enquirer was generally informed by the editor that these personages were out of town, or gone on another adventure'.[160] Considering that Burrage concluded 'Cheerful Ching-Ching' by informing readers that 'Ching-Ching lives, Ching-Ching is a real being ... and we let our readers know Ching-Ching is still alive', it is not surprising that some readers believed that the Chinese man who lingered around Fleet Street and told people to read *Ching Ching's Own*, 'was in days gone by "Ching-Ching", and honoured him, as they thought, in a very fitting way by "Spin a yarn Ching", "How's Grunt"?, "I say, what a pig Eddard is"'.[161]

Not only was Ching-Ching popular because he was so vividly depicted, but the emphasis on friendship was another main reason for Ching-Ching's success. As Burrage wrote in 1890, 'How many strong friendships we have promoted we cannot

[157] 'Correspondence', *Ching Ching's Own*, V.56 (1889), 63.
[158] Alan Goble, 'Ching-Ching's Revenge', 2009, *The Complete Index to World Film since 1895*, <http://www.citwf.com/film61907.htm> [accessed 19 August 2009]. I have been unable to locate a copy of this film or find more information about it.
[159] Adam Bridges, 'Correspondence', *Ching Ching's Own*, I.5 (1888), 39.
[160] Burrage, 'Ching-Ching Memoirs', 136.
[161] Burrage, 'Cheerful Ching Ching', 131; Burrage, 'Ching-Ching Memoirs', 149.

say; but we have written proof that their name is legion, and the secret of it is that from the first our journal had friendship for its foundation'.[162] Readers seemed to want to be Ching-Ching's friend. As W. L. Miller from Glasgow put it, Ching-Ching's 'oily way of winning many friends has also won me'.[163] A distinct 'Ching-Ching culture' existed outside the pages of the stories. A feeling of affinity was created among readers when the 'Ching-Ching Brotherhood', characterized by 'peace, jollity, and goodwill', was formed.[164] 'Chingyites' received 'a silver medal of honour in handsome leather case' and were given the privilege to append the letters 'C.C.O.G.O.C' ('Cheerful Chum of Grand Old Chingy') after their name. Subscribers were asked to submit 'pithy and humorous reasons' for 'why he thinks he deserves a Medal'.[165] The list of the first one hundred winners appeared with instructions for successful Chingyites to pick up their medals from their newsagents who were expected to display the prizes in their windows.[166] The correspondence columns also contained notices from readers seeking to be pen pals with other Chingyites.[167] In addition to the Brotherhood, readers themselves reported on their own initiatives. For example, a reader from Aberdeen formed 'The Ching and Eddard' with eight or nine of his friends to go over 'all the old series' and discuss 'the adventures of the "famous four"'.[168] Each local Ching Ching Club had the freedom to 'make its own rules' and readers such as James A. Aukrah were reminded 'that the Immortal One will not recognise any club which encourages unthankful men like Eddard'. Once a club was formed, the editor would 'enter the names of its

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[162] Burrage, 'In the Editorial Room: Confidential Chats with Our Boys—New Series—IX', *The Best for Boys--Ching Ching's Own*, I (New Series).9 (1890), 134.
[163] W. L. Miller, 'Correspondence', *Ching Ching's Own*, I.5 (1888), 39.
[164] 'Ching Ching's Order of Merit', 4.
[165] 'To All Boys', 3; 'Notices', *Ching Ching's Own*, I.6 (1888), 47. None of the reasons were printed in the periodical however.
[166] 'First List of One Hundred Winners of Ching Ching's Medal', *Ching Ching's Own*, I.9 (1888), 71.
[167] See for example, 'Correspondence', *The Best for Boys: Ching Ching's Own*, II.26 (1891), 206.
[168] Burrage, 'Correspondence', 95.

members in the Ching Ching book of Chums'.[169] The Ching Ching Brotherhood signified a community of readers that regarded Ching-Ching not as an inferior repulsive Other but a fellow brother, just as Bowman's St. Kassian envisaged the world to be: one in which all men shall be brethren. For these readers then, reading these stories did not heighten the dichotomy between 'Us' and 'Them' but rather had the potential to break down the barriers between races. In particular, the friendship between Ching-Ching and Samson demonstrates that despite racial (Chinese vs. African), personality (cunning vs. innocent), and physical differences (bony vs. giant), a strong relationship could be formed between two individuals. Samson was always faithful to Ching-Ching and others because his motto was 'Never betray a friend'.[170] Ching-Ching loved Samson above all others: 'He admired and reverenced Handsome Harry, he respected Ira Staines and Tom True, but he loved "Sammy"'.[171]

Another reason that people continued to read the Ching-Ching stories was possibly because they were interested in uncovering the mystery of who this character really was and where he came from. John McBratney asserts that Sherlock Holmes's attraction lies in the fact that he 'remains an insoluble mystery to his fellow human beings, beyond the reach of even those means he uses to solve crimes'.[172] This same argument is applicable to Ching-Ching, who leaves readers guessing and trying to solve the mystery of his ancestry, his age, and his language skills, for he is 'as much a puzzle to the nation of China as he is to Britishers'.[173] He evades the Chinese 'type' and is able, like Holmes, to perform the role that 'best assists his art'.[174] In 'Ching Ching and His Chums', one of the characters remarks

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[169] 'Correspondence', *Ching Ching's Own*, III.29 (1889), 47.
[170] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 100.
[171] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 183.
[172] John McBratney, 'Racial and Criminal Types: Indian Ethnography and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's the Sign of Four', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 33.1 (2005), 149-67 (p. 161).
[173] 'Advertisement', *The Best for Boys: Ching Ching's Own*, VII (New Series).83 (1892), 80.
[174] McBratney, 'Racial and Criminal Types', 161.

that the question of who Ching-Ching is 'is the mystery'.[175] The narrator claims that the 'Immortal One cannot write, but his is the directing hand' and speaks on behalf of Ching-Ching, when he states that 'If there is no sufficient light to let people know exactly who he was and what he was, Ching Ching is sorry; but he says he can't give more'.[176]

Although he is supposedly from Peking, nobody really knows the truth of Ching-Ching's ancestry, because 'Ching Ching always WAS mysterious'.[177] He originally claims his father was a rich Mandarin, but exaggerates the story further by announcing that his father was the greatest emperor in China, describing him as having worn 'two pigtails, owning 1600 wives, and a few other ladies, and nebber did nothing but sit on an a sackful of gold and eat rice. My moder was his favourite wife, and I am de only chile that he ntake [*sic*] notice of out of the 2716 that he had'.[178] When asked to repeat the number of children his father had, he could not remember and replies that his father had 'Four thousand eleven hundred and ninety-two'.[179] In 'Cheerful Ching-Ching' he tells Samson that he was actually not born in Peking but is still 'a true-born Pekinner'.[180] An advertisement in No. 83 of Vol. VII (New Series) states that the 'profound mystery which hovers around his place of birth, notwithstanding the hints he has given from time to time, remains unraveled'.[181] Although readers are informed that Ching-Ching is illiterate when it comes to English, it is not clear whether he is able to read Chinese characters. He confidently informs Samson that 'Chineeser am a speaker languidger, and we am all

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[175] 'Ching Ching and His Chums Chapter I to Chapter II', 2.
[176] 'Our Friends', *The Best for Boys: Ching Ching's Own*, IV (New Series).50 (1891), 172; 'Chingy's Own Yarns', 4.
[177] 'Ching Ching Debating Society', *The Best for Boys: Ching Ching's Own*, V (New Series).59 (1891), 103.
[178] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 90.
[179] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 90.
[180] E. Harcourt Burrage, 'Cheerful Ching Ching', 44.
[181] 'Advertisement', 80.

born to read him'.[182]

Writing in 1890, Francis Hitchman commented that although publications such as *The Boy's Leisure Hour* and *Ching Ching's Own* were comparatively 'harmless', 'no boy is likely to be the better for reading them. He will derive neither information nor instruction from them, and it may be doubted whether the time spent over them would not be infinitely more usefully employed in cricket and football or some lighter games'.[183] Hitchman probably considered *Ching Ching's Own* harmless because he was more concerned about stories that featured errand boys or young clerks who, discontented with their work, abandoned their jobs to indulge in a life of crime. Because it was assumed that readers of penny dreadfuls were working-class boys with similar backgrounds to the heroes of the stories described above, critics feared that they would emulate the realistic characters and run away to come robbers or pirates.[184] Ching-Ching's antics in *The Boy's Leisure Hour* (reissues of *The Boy's Standard*), on the other hand, are too exaggerated to be considered realistic. Although contemporary critics classified *Ching Ching's Own* as an unedifying journal, Burrage characterized the magazine as a 'wholesome journal issued for boys' 'leavened with earnest records of the doings of the brave and strong' and 'rejoiced' that readers '[gave] up reading abominable murderous literature for Old Chingy', who 'simply aims to amuse' by providing 'good honest, healthy humour'.[185]

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[182] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 239.
[183] Francis Hitchman, 'Penny Fiction', *Quarterly Review*, 171 (1890), 150-71 (p. 156).
[184] Dunae, 'Penny Dreadfuls', 139.
[185] 'Correspondence', *Ching Ching's Own*, II.Novelette No.15 (1888), 4; Burrage, 'One Word More', 368. One reader who gave up reading 'bloods' was Jerry Bott, who wrote 'I was compelled to speculate my week's wages (of younger days) on the so-called Ching Ching's Own. I was very much persuaded not to, having been the victim of papers [...] tales of "blood and thunder" created a great sensation in the heads of some boys, and I have purchased and purchased in vain with hopes of coming to a good tale, but find they are all of the same description— 'end in smoke', but in your paper, thou Immortal One, are two talks that ought to please anyone': Jerry Bott, 'Correspondence', *Ching Ching's Own*, I.8 (1888), 63.

Burrage emphasized that 'It is NOT a blood and thunder journal/It is NOT filled with injurious rubbish/It is NOT a receptacle for old stories/It is NOT a journal a boy need hide away from his parents/It is NOT connected with any other boys' paper, but stands alone'.[186] Christopher Pittard points out that George Newnes 'described his publications in the context of the health of his readers', frequently making use of the adjective 'wholesome' and its synonyms when discussing his productions.[187] Burrage employed similar descriptions, characterising *Ching Ching's Own* as a 'wholesome journal' that parents 'will rejoice to find'.[188] He explicitly linked *Ching Ching's Own* to health, asserting that '[o]ut of wholesome pleasures come healthy body and strength of mind'.[189] Compared to the other 'injurious' magazines that were full of 'poisonous rubbish and puerile dribblings', *Ching Ching's Own* aimed to 'give the strengthening medium'.[190] This medium was fiction, which Burrage claimed was 'instructive' and taught the reader 'certain codes of honour and morality that ought to govern our lives'.[191] While *Ching Ching's Own* did not contain the overt moralizing or the articles on science that respectable magazines such as the *Boy's Own Paper* did, it nonetheless championed 'honour and honesty'.[192] As Burrage informed a reader named T. T., 'The Immortal One may not be able to put you far on the right road, but he won't lead you into a wrong one'.[193]

Ching-Ching's character is toned down in *Ching Ching's Own*, making him more 'wholesome' compared to when he first appeared in *The Boy's Standard*, perhaps because Burrage wanted to project a new image for his magazine and

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[186] 'Our New Heading', 208.
[187] Christopher Pittard, '"Cheap, Healthful Literature": The Strand Magazine, Fictions of Crime, and Purified Reading Communities', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 40.1 (2007), 1-23 (p. 2).
[188] 'Correspondence', 4.
[189] Burrage, 'One Word More', 368.
[190] Burrage, 'One Word More', 368.
[191] E. Harcourt Burrage, 'Confidential Chats with Our Boys No. 48', *Ching Ching's Own*, VII.88 (1890), 160.
[192] 'Our New Heading', 208.
[193] E. Harcourt Burrage, 'Correspondence', *Ching Ching's Own*, II. Novelette No.17 (1888), 4.

redefine his readership. Burrage downplayed Ching-Ching's troublesome nature in the later stories and transformed him into someone who solves other people's problems. In 'Ching-Ching and His Chums; A Mirthful, Moving, and Mysterious Story' (1888), the first serial of *Ching Ching's Own*, Ching-Ching begins his transformation into a detective. Ching-Ching, who is now a widower, is stricken with financial difficulty when he is 'suddenly' 'robbed of the means of living at ease'.[194] Luckily, 'his services were needed to unravel one of the greatest mysteries of modern days'.[195] In order to make money, he plunges into the task of helping to clear Tom Howard's name, which involves travelling to India. The next mystery, 'The Ching Ching Mystery' (1890), occurs closer to home, when Young Ching-Ching and his friends disappear and Ching-Ching must find them.[196] In the serial, readers were invited to use their deciphering skills to help solve the mystery of Young Ching-Ching's disappearance by seeking out the 'few hints' provided and piecing them together to 'produce at least an outline of the facts'.[197] According to the announcement of the winners, 'a very fair sprinkling of our readers have been successful. A great many were nearly correct, but, of course, that would not do [...]', and only the forty-one readers who successfully solved the mystery were rewarded with 'an English timepiece' for submitting an answer along the lines of 'the boys had started ON A TOUR AROUND THE BRITISH ISLES'.[198] When Young Ching-

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[194] Burrage, 'Ching Ching and His Chums Chapter I to Chapter II', 1.
[195] Burrage, 'Ching Ching and His Chums Chapter I to Chapter II', 1.
[196] Unlike his father, ten-year-old Young Ching-Ching speaks English like any British schoolboy. Having inherited his father's cunning and charm, he regularly creates disturbances, eventually getting kicked out of school. Like Ching-Ching, Young Ching-Ching also has a 'faithful follower'—a boy named Billy Pink ('a little round-bodied boy'), whose blind devotion to Young Ching-Ching parallels that of Samson: 'he was as simple as Samson. He also had the unswerving faith in Young Ching-Ching that Samson had for the elder one': Burrage, *Young Ching-Ching,* p. 18.
[197] Burrage, 'The Ching Ching Mystery', 88.
[198] Burrage, 'The Ching Ching Mystery', 174. At the end of the story, readers are given all the details. Young Ching-Ching, Young Handsome Harry, Dick Cockles, and Jim Stager bought a boat called 'Emily Ann' from a man named Waller with some money they earned by selling Handsome Harry's jewellery and planned to run away to sea to 'fight pirates'. They seemed to want to emulate their fathers who fought many pirates in their heyday but they were unsuccessful because the Emily Ann

Ching and his friends return safely, Ching-Ching makes the following concluding remarks:

> all swell who end swell. Out ob dis lilly fair de boys hab learn a lesser. It am dis. Neber to despise de advisers ob pussons older an' more sperienced den dey are. It am now apelient to 'em dat dey tempted to much; but like truly brabe boys, dey not shamed to own it. One day dey mean to hab anoder go in at somefin, and it am my pillion dat dey will succeed.[199]

The fact that Ching-Ching discusses the 'lessons' that can be learnt from this experience demonstrates how much he has changed because he used to be a prank-playing comic 'who never could be serious for twenty-four hours'.[200] Readers could observe how 'how Ching Ching had developed with time, how his genius had expanded and grown and grown into a thing of beauty'.[201] Now he was someone worthy to take on the role of a detective.

Ching-Ching the Detective

Burrage may have decided to reinvent Ching-Ching as a detective after witnessing the popularity of Sherlock Holmes who first appeared in 1887. He may also have seen an 1880 portrait of a real-life Chinese detective named Fook Shing who worked for the Victorian police in Australia published in the London newspaper *The Graphic*.[202] Although Ching-Ching's detecting skills had been exercised earlier in 'Ching-Ching and His Chums' and 'The Ching Ching Mystery', he only becomes a renowned detective in 'Ching Ching on the Trail: A New Style of Detective Story' (1892) when his 'master mind' is needed to 'fathom a Mystery which our Keenest Detectives of Scotland-yard have hitherto been unable to

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turned out to be a poorly maintained boat so they had to stop in Alborough to try to fix it. At this point, Dick and Jim wanted to give up and but Young Handsome Harry and Young Ching-Ching were determined to continue. They parted ways and Ching-Ching cought up with Dick, demanding to know his son's whereabouts. But, like Billy Pink before him, Dick refused to rat on his friends. Young Ching-Ching was planning to acquire a small sailing boat to get round the north of Scotland but a storm broke out and Young Ching-Ching and Young Handsome Harry saved a man who was drowning.

[199] Burrage, 'The Ching Ching Mystery', 13.

[200] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 156.

[201] 'Not to Be Flooded Out', *Ching Ching's Own*, I.9 (1888), 71.

[202] 'Melbourne Illustrated, Portrait of Fook Shing', *The Graphic*, 13 November 1880, p. 484.

unravel'.[203] In this story, Ching-Ching's comic relief responsibilities are turned over to characters such as Chaffinch and the Handy Man. Although subtitled 'a new style of detective story' because Ching Ching was probably the first Chinese detective in Victorian children's fiction, the plot closely adheres to the 'classic paradigm of a detective story' outlined by B. J. Rahn, and, like other serialized detective fiction, 'presents its readers with recognisable and comfortable narrative models'.[204] First, a murder is committed in a closed environment, which in this case is Rockmount Castle, located near an English village called Tancroft, where the Earl of Rockmount is found poisoned. Second, the puzzled police investigating the case cannot unlock the mystery and therefore seek help from 'a gifted but eccentric amateur detective with encyclopedic knowledge, intuitive insight, and great capacity for deductive reasoning'.[205] In the 15 December 1888 issue of *Ching Ching's Own*, a character named Mr. Fossil Bone asserts that Ching-Ching is 'uneducated, but of limitless knowledge'.[206] Gibbs and Squirk ask for his help because he is a 'genius': 'wondrous', 'audacious', 'eccentric', and 'clever'.[207] Often the methods used by these 'eccentric' detectives are unconventional and sometimes baffling, but effective. Ching-Ching's methods are no exception. For example, Gibbs claims that 'Ching Ching will do things his own way or not at all' and 'when his way fails there's no more to be done'.[208] Those who hire Ching-Ching have the utmost confidence in him, believing that 'Ching Ching never yet was mixed up in anything that did not

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[203] 'Advertisement', *Ching Ching's Own*, VII (New Series).81 (1892), 48; E. Harcourt Burrage, *Ching Ching on the Trail: A New Style of Detective Story* (London: Best for Boys Library, [n.d.]), p. 5.
[204] B. J. Rahn, 'Seeley Regester: America's First Detective Novelist', in *The Sleuth and the Scholar: Origins, Evolution, and Current Trends in Detective Fiction*, ed. by Barbara A. Rader and Howard G. Zettler (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1988), pp. 47-61; Pittard, '"Cheap, Healthful Literature"', 5.
[205] Rahn, 'Seeley Regester', pp. 49-50.
[206] E. Harcourt Burrage, 'Young Ching Ching at School Chapter XXVIII', *Ching Ching's Own*, II.26 (1888), 103.
[207] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, pp. 99; 180; 162.
[208] Burrage, *Ching Ching on the Trail*, p. 6.

come out right'.[209] Like the classic detective who arrives at the crime scene to collect evidence and interview witnesses and suspects before formulating a hypothesis, Ching-Ching travels to Tancroft to examine the typical English country estate and interviews some old men who provide 'a great deal of useful information about the servants at Rockmount Castle'.[210] They confide in him because his 'native gentleness won the affections right away of those he visited'.[211] After reviewing the facts and gathering information, Ching-Ching suggests that Benson the butler is the one who poisoned his employer. Furthermore, Benson's brother-in-law Andrew Gorby is impersonating him because his resemblance to the real heir George Beaufoy was so uncanny that they were known as 'the twins' during childhood. Gorby attempts to 'carry out one of the greatest frauds of modern times' and is quite confident that nobody would recognize him as an impostor because George had left England for Africa to make his fortune in diamonds many years ago. Upon hearing Ching-Ching's hypothesis, Gibbs comments that 'it was the only reasonable assumption to account for the death of the nobleman'.[212] They fear that Beaufoy may be dead and Ching-Ching embarks on a quest to bring him home. Ching-Ching finds George Beaufoy stranded on an island unable to return to England to claim his inheritance because Gorby had murdered everyone on board Beaufoy's boat. Ching-Ching rescues him back to England, where he confronts the false heir. Most detective stories preserve the cosmic world view by concluding with the murderer's arrest and the restoration of moral order. Accordingly in this text Andrew Gorby is duly imprisoned. However, before he could be brought to trial, he dies from the

[209] Burrage, 'Ching Ching and His Chums Chapter I to Chapter II', 2.
[210] Burrage, *Ching Ching on the Trail*, p. 144.
[211] Burrage, *Ching Ching on the Trail*, p. 143.
[212] Burrage, *Ching Ching on the Trail*, p. 128.

shock of seeing George Beaufoy 'rise, like a denouncing spirit, in court'.[213]

Before Ching-Ching became a detective, his cunning nature had been used to steal from others and his inscrutable face made people like Samson unsure of whether he was lying or telling the truth. In fashioning Ching-Ching into a detective figure, however, Burrage suggests that nineteenth-century stereotypes of the Chinese as cunning, inscrutable, and mysterious, qualities that had been comically evident in *Handsome Harry*, could be put to good use to uphold justice. When readers are first introduced to Ching-Ching, they are informed that 'he had plenty of cunning' and later told that he looked like 'a veritable god of cunning'.[214] Burrage uses words associated with religion to describe Ching-Ching, calling him 'a heathen deity of cuteness' and describing him gazing at his friend with 'the serenity of the idol of Buddha in an Indian temple'.[215] Furthermore, like the 'inscrutable' Chinese, Ching-Ching can remain expressionless, making it hard for people to read him. In fact, his face 'rarely' showed surprise, and although he 'was occasionally the victim of surprise', 'losing his presence of mind was a thing unknown to Ching Ching'.[216] He remains calm and 'immovable' in the face of danger and kills without batting an eye, able to strangle his enemy with 'a terrible, remorseless grip'.[217]

Like pipe-smoking Sherlock Holmes, 'the most perfect reasoning and observing machine the world has ever seen', a 'sensitive instrument' in possession of

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[213] Burrage, *Ching Ching on the Trail*, p. 283. The character 'Hope' in Arthur Conan Doyle's first Sherlock Holmes story *A Study in Scarlet* (1887) also dies of a heart attack before being sentenced.
[214] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 20; Burrage, *Ching Ching on the Trail*, p. 38.
[215] Burrage, *Ching Ching on the Trail*, p. 38. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'cute' referred to someone who is 'acute, clever, keen-witted, sharp, shrewd' and was 'used of things in same way as cunning': 'Cute', *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, 2nd edn, 1989; online edn, <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 19 August 2009].
[216] Burrage, *Ching Ching on the Trail*, p. 13; E. Harcourt Burrage, 'Ching Ching and His Chums Chapter XI to Chapter XII', *Ching Ching's Own*, I.6 (1888), 42. Bracebridge Hemyng expresses a similar sentiment in *Jack Harkaway and His Son's Adventures in China:* Hi Li, Bigamini's servant, 'was not surprised at his master's violence' because '[i]t takes a great deal to astonish a Chinaman, and he is so confirmed a fatalist, that if told he was to die in five minutes, he would not take the trouble to say a prayer' (240).
[217] Burrage, 'Cheerful Ching Ching', 23; Burrage, *Ching Ching on the Trail*, p. 219.

'high power lenses' capable of 'extraordinary powers of observation', cigarette-smoking Ching-Ching is a good observer and listener: 'his quiet eyes' take in 'everything that could be seen' and his ears absorb 'everything that could be heard'.[218] His eyes are the most striking feature of his 'Mongolian cast of countenance' — 'What a world of cuteness and leeriness lurked in their depths'.[219] His illiteracy is a 'trifling obstacle' because he has 'gifts that might have put him at the head of a state'.[220] Although Ching-Ching is illiterate, this does not hinder his ability to recognize crucial files. For example, when he observes a man with a bag filled with papers, he notices that there 'was a decided legal appearance' about them and 'had sufficient experience to know that it was an important document'.[221] Hence, he uses his dexterous feet to steal this document, which proves to be the Earl of Rockmount's will.

The narrator frequently implies that without fortune and luck on his side, Ching-Ching's detective work would not have been successful. Besides his 'patience' and 'sagacity', 'times and seasons combined to aid him in his work'.[222] Ching-Ching, who 'carries a charm with him that never fails to bring good fortune', relies on both 'instinct' and 'a little good luck' to find and rescue those in need.[223] 'Curiosity' is 'a crowning virtue' of Ching-Ching's, because he could keep it 'well under control, and use it so 'discreetly'.[224] Collaboration is also important for solving a case. Just as Sherlock Holmes works with Watson and other friends, Ching-Ching is assisted by a team of friends that he met in *Handsome Harry*. In

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[218] Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* ([London]: Murray, [1930]), p. 1; Burrage, *Ching Ching on the Trail*, p. 129.
[219] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 183.
[220] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 520.
[221] Burrage, *Ching Ching on the Trail*, pp. 130-31.
[222] Burrage, *Ching Ching on the Trail*, p. 283.
[223] Burrage, 'Ching Ching and His Chums Chapter I to Chapter II', 2; Burrage, *Ching Ching on the Trail,* 268.
[224] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 318.

Ching Ching on the Trail, Ching-Ching also collaborates with Gibbs, who handles the legal side of the case, using legalities to ensure that Andrew Gorby is unable to possess the estate before Ching-Ching discovers and rescues the real heir. In order to succeed, Ching-Ching must work with someone who can read and write.[225] Detective Ross fulfils this role in the 'Ching Ching Mystery' by deciphering the words on torn-up pieces of a letter.

Pittard and others have argued that detective fiction privileges order and rejects disorder.[226] According to Lawrence Rothfield, Sherlock Holmes's contribution to preserving the structure of British society is in his ability to reveal those who are '"passing" as respectable citizens'.[227] He seeks out the impostors 'who have infiltrated the social body as free signifiers by imitating people of actual "worth"' and helps to maintain the desires of middle-and-upper classes who wish to be gatekeepers of their society, deciding and controlling who can or cannot enter.[228] Similarly, Ching-Ching preserves the social order by exposing the lower class Andrew Gorby as an impostor trying to infiltrate into the aristocratic world. This image of Ching-Ching as an upright citizen who upholds the law reverses the usual scenario where the perpetrator of a crime is an evil Chinese man, while the detective who brings him to justice is British. Even before Ching-Ching becomes a detective, he helps to maintain order by participating in the effort to stop Adrian, the villain of *Daring Ching Ching* who aimed for 'the total disruption of society as it is, the destruction of kings, the annihilation of governments', by controlling 'Nihilists in

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[225] However, in a previous story he had written a note to Handsome Harry. These narrative slippages probably occurred because Burrage was pressured to grind out several manuscripts each week.
[226] Pittard, '"Cheap, Healthful Literature"', 5.
[227] Lawrence Rothfield, *Vital Signs: Medical Realism in Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 139.
[228] Laura Otis, 'The Empire Bites Back: Sherlock Holmes as an Imperial Immune System', *Studies in Twentieth Century Literature*, 22.1 (1998), 31-60; Rothfield, *Vital Signs*, pp. 139-41.

Russia, Socialists in Germany, and Communists in France'.[229] Laura Otis argues that Sherlock Holmes regarded the Orient as a place abounding in potential 'bacterial invaders' ready to infect and destroy the British Empire.[230] Although he is an 'Oriental', Ching-Ching is not regarded as a source of foreign 'germs' that will infect Britain. By changing Ching-Ching into a detective, Burrage has 'sanitized' and tamed the former gambler and drinker, suggesting that the Chinese can maintain and restore order instead of causing disruptions and disorder. However, in addition to treating the Chinese unconventionally in many ways, Burrage also revealed ambivalent attitudes towards other races.

Burrage's Attitude to Race

By rehashing characters based on national types, Victorian adventure story writers provided readers with a sense of familiarity and simultaneously bolstered their sense of British superiority. Burrage tried to instill pride in his British readers with the following statement: 'If there is one thing which we Britishers have a right to be proud of it is our pluck. Other nations may say what they please, and call this assertion a boast, but it is an indisputable fact that this little isle has more than its share of courage'.[231] According to Laurence Kitzan, Victorian adventure novels 'were often little sermons on power, how the power of Britain gained an empire, and how, in turn, the empire interacted and ensured that Britain would remain powerful and in a position to compete with the other great nations of the world'.[232] Burrage also commented on Britain's rise in power and military might, attributing the Spanish people's antagonistic attitude towards the British to their loss of power or

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[229] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, 293. Turner states that as a 'fellow of infinite resource', Ching-Ching 'would tackle a tramp on the highroad with the same insouciance as he sought to tackle that secret society, based on South America, which was in the happy position of being able to give orders to the Nihilists in Russia, the Socialists in Germany and the Communists in France': Turner, *Boys Will Be Boys*, pp. 75-76.
[230] Otis, 'The Empire Bites Back'.
[231] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 181.
[232] Laurence Kitzan, *Victorian Writers and the Image of Empire: The Rose-Colored Vision* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2001), p. 43.

prestige:

> there is no greater hate in this world of hate than the Spaniards hate of the English. The Great Armada has never been forgiven. Once the most powerful nation on earth, and ever the most proud, they mourn over their loss of power, which has been decaying for more than three hundred years. Rightly or wrongly they charge it to us, and say that we have fattened on their ruin. We hold Gibraltar, too, and no wonder that Spaniards at home and abroad hate us.[233]

The Spanish are also described as hating the 'dark races':

> The Spaniards hate the negro, for the terrible vengeance the dark-skinned race exercised in Peru has never been forgotten or forgiven. There the slaves fled from their masters, and, hidden in a wood, lay in wait for them and spared none that they caught [...].The negroes had been cruelly treated and goaded to madness. All the Spaniards that were caught were roasted alive, and their hearts eaten—at least, so runs the legend, and the Spaniard believes it to this day. Hence their hatred of the dark races.[234]

Like Bowman's St. Kassian, the narrator of 'Cheerful Ching Ching' is optimistic about the possibility of less 'civilized' people to progress towards 'civilization': 'The Turk is behind the rest of the civilized world, and nothing more. Gradually lessons in cleanliness, morality, and social duties are taking root in his dogged nature, and if we give him time, which some nations are not disposed to do, he will grow in grace and virtue as others have done before him'.[235] Of the Portuguese, Burrage writes that 'there is not a more resolute and daring race on earth' and 'if as a nation they have fallen away in prestige, the fault does not lie with the individual, but with the rulers of that country'.[236]

Burrage has been accused of 'ethnic stereotyping' in one of his other adventure stories 'The Island School' (1895-96), which, according to John Springhall, includes characters such as 'Lucia di Valo, the proud, revengeful Spanish beauty; Espardo Reonardo, the Invader of the Island...and Macbeth, Hamlet and Romeo, a trio of

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[233] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 34.
[234] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 183.
[235] Burrage, 'Cheerful Ching Ching', 45.
[236] Burrage, *Ching Ching on the Trail*, p. 215. Besides the Spanish and Portuguese, Chinese pirates also 'loathe an Englishman' and 'are very cunning, and, of course, cruel': Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 243.

Darkies who more or less fill in the whole duty and characteristics of the nigger'.[237] In *Handsome Harry*, Juanita, Handsome Harry's love interest, is also a Spanish beauty: a girl 'not more then seventeen, with a small face, perfect in its beauty, mouth rosy, nose small, eyes that looked through a man and "reg'lar fixed him"'.[238] Although Springhall comments that Burrage's 'Darkies' 'fill the duty and characteristics of the nigger', Burrage expressed anger at slave traders, accusing them of knowing 'nothing of the value of life' and caring for 'no loss or suffering but [their] own'.[239] Burrage also protested against slavery in *Handsome Harry* through his character Samson, who 'was particularly furious when the slave question came about, for he had suffered by it—his father and he having been stolen from their native land, and sold to a dealer, who in turn separated them, and sent one to America and the other heaven alone knew where. He never saw or heard of his father again'.[240] Samson is infuriated when someone calls him a nigger and threatens to bash his head against the wall if he did it again. In one of the correspondence columns in *Ching Ching's Own*, Burrage criticized the American prejudice towards African Americans in the following response to a reader known as 'Black Boy': 'In this country we do not bother ourselves about riding in the same carriage with a negro. It is in the only land of true freedom, according to their own statement—that of the Americans—that the dark-skinned race is offensively made to feel its inferiority'.[241]

Regarding Africans, the narrator of *Handsome Harry* states that 'ignorant people' might think that they are all 'of the negro type, with low foreheads, thick lips, and flat noses', but they are incorrect. To address this error, he gives an example of

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[237] Springhall, '"Boys of Bircham School"', p. 394.
[238] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 2.
[239] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 78.
[240] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 75.
[241] E. Harcourt Burrage, 'Correspondence Column', *The Best for Merry Boys: Ching Ching's Own*, X (New Series).137 (1893), 111.

the Foolahs, who possess 'exquisitely moulded forms and features' and only resemble 'the ordinary negro' by 'the colour of the skin'.[242] Although he seems sensitive to some Africans, wanting to rectify false impressions about them, his characterization of Matta, an African king, is quite negative, for he writes that King Matta would 'sell anything and everything for rum and cutlass'.[243] In addition, stereotypes are used in depicting Ching-Ching's faithful friend Samson. For example, Samson speaks like a stereotypical African: 'But you once tell me dat you able to read nuffin'.[244] Furthermore, he is described as simple-minded: 'a child in thought' with 'but two heroes in the world—Harry and Ching-Ching. He looked upon the former as the handsomest, noblest, bravest man that ever lived, and the latter as the one true genius which had come to light under the sun'.[245] The narrator asserts that if Ching-Ching

> had declared that he could play skittles with the moon, Samson would have believed him, so great was the faith he had in that most wondrous Chinee [...] He might be a little confused over the stories he heard, and find it difficult to reconcile the various anecdotes in connection with the family of that truly remarkable man, but in his simplicity he did not doubt them in the main, and verily believed that they were capable of being reconciled and coming out truthfully bright and clear [...] Harry was Samson's star in war, while Ching-Ching was his leading light in peace.[246]

However, Samson is not as simple-minded as he believes himself to be, because he

[242] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 77. In 1860, the Foolahs were described: 'It is the opinion of modern travellers that the Foolahs are destined to become the dominant people of Negroland, and they have excited more interest and scientific research than almost any other African race. In language, appearance, and history, they present striking differences from the neighboring tribes, to whom they are superior in intelligence, but inferior, according to Barth, in physical development. Mr. Golbery described them as robust and courageous, of a reddish black color, with regular features, hair longer and less woolly than that of the common negroes, and high mental capacity. Lander, who saw them near Borgoo, was struck by their resemblance to the Caffres, and says that they differ little in feature or color from the negroes; other travellers speak of them as having tawny complexions and soft hair. Dr. Barth found great local differences in their physical characteristics, and Bowen describes the Foolahs of Yoru-ba as being some black, some almost white, and many of a mulatto color varying from dark to very bright. Their features and skulls were cast in the European mould': "Foolah," in *The New American Cyclopaedia: A Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge*, ed. by George Ripley and Charles Anderson Dana (New York: Appleton, 1860), pp. 592-93.
[243] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 61.
[244] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 239.
[245] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 243; Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 162.
[246] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 162.

is always noticing Ching-Ching's inconsistencies. However, because he believes that 'he possessed a defective memory, he forbore to contradict'.[247]

The Ching-Ching stories are filled with many interesting characters of all races. Initially, the non-Caucasian characters such as Ching-Ching, Samson, and Bill Grunt, the boatswain of African descent play minor roles, but they gradually become more prominent in the stories, while Caucasian characters such as Handsome Harry, Tom True, and Ira Staines fade out. At the beginning of *Handsome Harry*, readers are informed that on the Belvedere, the more important jobs were allocated to the 'English, Irish, and Scotch' while the foreigners 'performed the menial offices of the ship'.[248] However, as the Ching-Ching stories develop, this racial hierarchy is gradually confused. Instead of the white character Eddard leading the others after Handsome Harry marries and 'retires', Ching-Ching becomes the 'august' leader.[249]

This phenomenon challenges statements made by critics who claim that late nineteenth-century adventure stories all feature English imperialist heroes defeating evil Others on the outskirts of the Empire. Burrage's treatment of Samson and Ching-Ching also calls into question the Victorian confidence in defining people according to 'racial types'. Burrage's texts reflect seemingly contradictory attitudes towards the use of 'types'. There is a tension between appearance and reality in the Ching-Ching series. In Ching-Ching's polyglot world, there are people such as Sam Rock, who is a Scot born in Brazil as well as a pirate chief who 'spoke very good English', but 'did not appear to have an English face'.[250] Not only was it difficult to

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[247] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 36.
[248] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 3.
[249] '"The Best for Boys' Library"', *The Best for Boys: Ching Ching's Own* II (New Series).15 (1891), 30.
[250] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 267. A more positive description is given to the Chinese pirate chief in *Jack Harkaway and His Son's Adventures in China*, Captain Lin-Van-San. He is a 'formidable-looking fellow' who is 'broad-shouldered', 'burly', 'fierce', and nearly six feet tall. Having traveled a great deal, he speaks several languages (including English) with 'considerable fluency' (275). Unlike most Chinese, he does not wear a pigtail, but 'let his hair grow like the Europeans, and this with the Chinese is usually a sign of mourning' (23-24). He is really a 'superior

determine his origin, it was almost impossible to 'guess the nationality of his followers'.[251] The narrator characterizes them as 'a mixed lot, and might be anything. One thing they had certainly in common, and that was their brutal disposition. A more diabolical gang of scoundrels were never gathered together'.[252] Although some degree of anxiety is expressed over being unable to determine the nationality of these 'scoundrels', no concern is voiced about Ching-Ching, who, as a highly mobile character, is a prime example of a man with indeterminate national identity. For example, 'to look at him [Ching-Ching] he is a Chinaman, but in his speech he is Ching Ching only [...]'.[253] Ching Ching is wholly *sui generis* –in a league of his own. Although some characters are prejudiced against the Chinese and make racist statements about them, readers would probably not have accepted the assertions. For example, Don Salvo asserts, 'The Chinese are a cursed, ugly race'.[254] However, because he is one of the villains in *Handsome Harry*, the credibility of his words is called into question. Similarly, the cranky white sailor Eddard Cutten insults the Chinese, '"Afore I'd be a yaller Chinnee", [...] "I'd be a wampire, or any warmint. There's nothing manly about "em"'.[255] Ching-Ching demonstrates his manliness and proves Eddard wrong by winning the fight and Eddard later becomes his friend.

Ching-Ching can be regarded as a cosmopolitan figure who does not necessarily feel more at home in China than in other places across the globe. While in Canton, 'Ching-Ching did not understand them [the Cantonese] more clearly than Cetewayo would have comprehended a Frenchman, very much the worse for brandy and water, singing Rule Britannia, mixed with the Marsellaise, with just a dash of

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man, for a Chinese' and 'the whole crew looked up to him, and to them, his lightest word was law' (275). However, he does not play a big part in the story.

[251] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 267.

[252] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 267.

[253] Burrage, 'Ching Ching and His Chums Chapter I to Chapter II', 2.

[254] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 45.

[255] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 136.

"Wearing of the Green" to give it a thoroughly democratic flavour'.[256] In this statement, Ching-Ching is positioned as an African king (Cetewayo) who defeated the British and cannot understand the French. However, mixing British, French, and Irish songs among his utterances, Ching-Ching exemplifies a hybrid or 'cross-cultural' figure. Singing patriotic songs from different places reveals that he is loyal to himself and not to any particular country.

Ching-Ching's Legacy

Several memoirs and articles from the twentieth-century suggest that the Ching-Ching stories were read by adults with as much fondness as they felt in their youth. For example, F. W. Puleston claimed in 1928, 'I do not think there is another one of the old School Writers whose yarns appeal to me nowadays as Mr Burrage'.[257] R. A. H. Goodyear, who sent letters to *Ching Ching's Own* as a child in 1891, wrote as an adult in 1933,

> As a boy I never could finish a story by Jules Verne or G. A. Henty. I turned with relief to 'The Slapcrash Boys', 'Handsome Harry', 'Tom Tartar at School' because they were merry and bright and tinged with natural humour throughout. Now and then I come across books which dear old E. Harcourt Burrage [...] wrote for publishers like Partridge and Sampson Low: they read tamely by comparison with his robust Ching Ching series, than which nothing livelier was ever produced for boys.[258]

Barry Ono (1876-1941), a famous collector of penny dreadfuls, remembers that growing up in the late Victorian era, 'when everything but the good little boys' *Boy's Own Paper* was sweepingly designated a "penny dreadful" or "pernicious literature"', he 'used to buy the *Boy's Own Paper* and with the title very ostentatiously displayed outside', and read his 'current number of "Sweeny Todd",

[256] Burrage, *Cheerful-Daring-Wonderful Ching-Ching*, p. 231. Cetewayo [Cetshwayo] (c. 1826-84) was a Zulu king who lead his people to defeat the British at Isandhlwana in 1879. 'Cetshwayo', *Oxford Reference*, Oxford University Press, 2000; online edn, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t48.e733> [accessed 22 March 2008].

[257] F.W. Puleston, 'Correspondence', *Collector's Miscellany*, 1.1 (1928), 5.

[258] Goodyear received the following response in *Ching Ching's Own*: 'R.A.H. Goodyear –We have enough cons. in hand to last three months. We will keep yours in hand. 2. you might have sent the card to him. It would have been an act of courtesy': E. Harcourt Burrage, 'Correspondence', *Ching Ching's Own*, II (New Series).17 (1891), 62; Goodyear, 'Stories I Liked the Most—and Least', 46.

"Handsome Harry" or "Spring Heeled Jack" inside'.[259] Sir J. A. Hammerton (1871-1949), author and editor of reference works, describes a bully in his school named Harry whose handsome looks reminded him of the pictures of 'Handsome Harry of the Fighting Belvedere', and that it 'led to that long-sustained boys' "penny blood" being a favorite with my playmates'.[260] Ben Winskill recalls in 'The Penny Dreadful Offices' that he collected posters of the penny dreadfuls and that the 'old yellow posters with page illustrations from Turnpike Dick, Sweeny Todd and Ching-Ching delighted [him] most'.[261]

Another man who may have read the Ching-Ching stories was popular boy's writer Charles Gilson (1878-1943). Because Gilson was born in 1878, two years after Ching-Ching first appeared in 1876, it is possible that he read the Ching-Ching stories as a child and may have been influenced by them when creating his Chinese detective Mr. Wang, because there are many similarities between the two Chinese detectives. In 'About My Own Stories' Gilson informs readers that Mr. Wang, who appeared in stories such as 'The Lost Island' (1907-08), 'The Mystery of Ah Jim' (1917-18), and 'The Secret Society of the Tortoise Mask' (1921), is based on a man he knew when he lived in China:

> a fat Pekinese compradore, who talked English with a 'Frisco accent, and always had an answer for everything. No matter what you asked him to do, he always said, 'Yes, can do, sure'; and he did it. It occurred to me, even in those days, that he would make a remarkably good detective; and so, when I came to write stories for boys, I turned him into a kind of Chinese Sherlock Holmes.[262]

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[259] Barry Ono, 'Camouflaged Blood Titles', *Collector's Miscellany*, 7 (1933-34), 9-10 (p. 9).
[260] Hammerton, *Books and Myself*, p. 9. For more information on Hammerton's life, see Bridget Hadaway, 'Hammerton, Sir John Alexander (1871–1949)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37505> [accessed 20 March 2008].
[261] Ben Winskill, 'The Penny Dreadful Offices' *Vanity Fair: An Illustrated Amateur Magazine Published in the interests of Amateur Journalism*, 17.2 (1925), 47-49 (p. 47).
[262] Charles Gilson, 'About My Own Stories', *Boy's Own Paper*, 44 (1921), 21. According to Roberts, compradores was 'a Portuguese term first used to describe the agents of Western firms who handled the Chinese side of business, but later applied to those who engaged in foreign trade or utilized their familiarity with Western business methods. It also included wealthy Overseas Chinese who invested

Like Ching-Ching, Mr. Wang is an eccentric, flamboyant, whimsical, and brave detective: he is '[s]hrewd, cunning, clever', a 'superb liar' who '[knows] not fear' and 'risked his life as often and carelessly as a man might jingle coins in his pocket'.[263] Mr. Wang displays his eccentricity by 'violently blowing his nose' when he congratulates himself.[264] Like Ching-Ching, whose face 'rarely' showed surprise, Mr. Wang 'made it a principle of his life never to be puzzled or surprised. So many extraordinary things had happened in the course of his career that he was never taken wholly off his guard when the unexpected happened'.[265] Both men are good storytellers: people listen attentively to Ching-Ching's yarns, and Mr. Wang charms two men in 'The Mystery of Ah Jim' with 'thrilling, inspiriting, and vivid' stories so that they will introduce him to the villain Sun King.[266] Ching-Ching is noted for hiding things in his loose clothes, such as 'a bacca box, breeches, Cutten's wooden leg (discovered down his back), with two volumes of Cook's Voyages, belonging to Tom True [...]'.[267] Similarly, Mr. Wang has a 'spacious sleeve, which seemed a kind of enormous lucky bag from which he could produce, at random, revolvers, money, papers, bottles of chloroform, and goodness knows what else'.[268] Mr. Wang is a mysterious figure: 'an enigma, a mystery, a human question mark', similar to Ching-Ching, who 'is as much a puzzle to the nation of China as he is to Britishers'.[269] Just as Ching-Ching's age is a mystery, all that readers know about Mr. Wang's age is

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part of their fortunes in China': J. A. G. Roberts, *A History of China*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 204.

[263] Charles Gilson, 'The Secret Society of the Tortoise Mask', *Chums*, (1921), 370-72, 402, 425, 443, 451, 468, 500, 520, 53 (p. 372); Charles Gilson, 'The Mystery of Ah Jim: A Story of the Chinese under-World, and of Piracy and Adventures in Eastern Seas', *Boy's Own Paper*, 40 (1917-1918), 1-12, 85-95, 121-30, 194-202, 229-39, 299-307, 336-47 (p. 338); Gilson, 'Tortoise Mask', 371; 539.

[264] Gilson, 'The Mystery of Ah Jim', 341.

[265] Burrage, *Ching Ching on the Trail,* p. 13; Gilson, 'The Mystery of Ah Jim', 305.

[266] Gilson, 'The Mystery of Ah Jim', 130.

[267] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 15.

[268] Charles Gilson, *The Race Round the World, Being the Account of the Contest for the £100.00 Prize Offered by the Combined Newspaper League, of the Invention of Methylite, and Certain Passages in the Life of Mr. Wang* (London: Henry Frowde, Hodder and Stoughton, 1914), p. 178.

[269] 'Advertisement', 80; Gilson, 'Tortoise Mask', 373.

that he is 'by no means a young man'.[270] Both men solve cases using methods that are uniquely their own: Detective Gibbs claims that 'Ching Ching will do things his own way or not at all'.[271] In 'Ah Jim', Mr. Wang 'succeeded by methods of his own, as daring as they were original'.[272]

However, in many ways, Mr. Wang is less stereotyped than Ching-Ching. For example, instead of wearing a long pigtail and speaking Pidgin English, his pigtail is 'only a few inches in length' and he speaks English 'perfectly with an American twang'.[273] In terms of dress, although Ching-Ching always wears 'curious loose' Chinese-style clothes, Mr. Wang dresses atypically. In 'The Lost Island', Gilson describes his outfit as 'the most heterogeneous costume imaginable' because Mr. Wang combines Chinese shoes with Khaki trousers, and 'blue putties, very badly rolled'. Furthermore, despite the 'oppressive heat' he wears a thick wool sweater beneath 'an old silk-lined dinner jacket' and sports 'a field-service cap, which had once been the property of a driver of the Royal Horse Artillery' on his head.[274] His costume suggests that the 'inimitable and unique' Mr. Wang is not a traditional Chinese man but a well-travelled cosmopolitan figure who defies typecasting.[275] Unlike Ching-Ching, who is illiterate, Mr. Wang is well-educated (he knows Latin) and can even communicate with Police Commissioner Swayne in cipher messages. Being a 'Cantonese Chinaman of the upper class', Mr. Wang does not need to rely on his detective work in order to make a living, whereas Ching-Ching is forced to take up cases because he suffered financial difficulties.[276]

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[270] Gilson, 'The Mystery of Ah Jim', 94.
[271] Burrage, *Ching Ching on the Trail*, p. 6.
[272] Gilson, 'The Mystery of Ah Jim', 229.
[273] Gilson, 'The Mystery of Ah Jim', 94.
[274] Charles Gilson, 'The Lost Island: A Strange Tale of Adventure in the Far East' *The Captain*, XVIII (1907-1908), 3-17, 99-112, 196-205, 303-15, 399-409, 493-506 (p. 198). Mr. Wang alters his dress code according to different situations because in *The Race Round the World*, he was dressed in the flowing silk of a wealthy Chinese merchant (132).
[275] Gilson, 'The Mystery of Ah Jim', 347.
[276] Gilson, 'The Mystery of Ah Jim', 94.

Mr. Wang may have also been the precursor of Charlie Chan, known as the first Chinese American detective. In the 22 March 1931 edition of *The New York Times*, Earl Derr Biggers (1884-1933) noted that he inserted the character of Charlie Chan to add 'local color' to *The House Without a Key* (1925) and stated that '[s]inister and wicked Chinese were old stuff in mystery stories, but an amiable Chinese acting on the side of law and order had never been used up to that time'.[277] Charles Rzepka argues that 'until the appearance of Charlie Chan in 1925, only one barrier, besides sexual preference, remained unassailed by white writers of detective fiction: race'.[278] However, if we take Burrage's Ching Ching and Gilson's Mr. Wang, who both appeared before 1925, into consideration, Biggers and Rzepka's statements should be qualified. Perhaps a Chinese detective had not appeared in American detective fiction prior to *The House Without a Key*, but British fiction already had two Chinese detectives at least a decade before Charlie Chan's first appearance. Because there are many similarities between Mr. Wang and Charlie Chan, especially in terms of physical features, it is possible that Biggers may have been aware of Mr. Wang, because Gilson's books were published in the United States and boys' magazines such as the *Boy's Own Paper* and *Chums* were also available across the Atlantic.[279]

Conclusion

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[277] Earl Derr Biggers, 'Creating Charlie Chan' [22 March 1931], (repr. in *Popular Culture*, ed. by David Manning White (New York: Ayer, 1975), pp. 28-29), p. 28.

[278] Charles J. Rzepka, 'Race, Region, Rule: Genre and the Case of Charlie Chan', *PMLA*, 122.5 (2007), 1463-81 (pp. 1472-73).

[279] Charlie Chan's 'cheeks were as chubby as a baby's, his skin ivory tinted, his black hair close-cropped, his amber eyes slanting': Earl Derr Biggers, *The House without a Key* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1925), p. 76. Many hyperbolic descriptions are employed to create a vivid picture of Gilson's detective. Mr. Wang's moon-like face, the 'colour of pale sand', is 'podgy, flabby' and resembles 'an inverted soup-plate': Gilson, *The Race Round the World*, pp. 132; 133; Gilson, 'The Mystery of Ah Jim', 94. Although his nose is 'squat' 'flat' 'small' and 'shapeless', his cheeks protuberant, and his mouth 'nothing but a round hole in what might have been a dumpling', Mr. Wang's 'little round eyes' twinkle and reveal that he is 'excessively intelligent': Gilson, 'The Secret Society of the Tortoise Mask', 472. Both Biggers and Gilson note that the eyes of their heroes demonstrate their cleverness.

In 'Get Out of Gaol Free, or: How to Read a Comic Plot', John Bruns argues that comic characters such as Falstaff, Don Quixote, or Mr. Pickwick 'seem to exist as comic entities outside the pages of their respective works'. For example, because Falstaff appears in three Shakespeare plays, he is not defined by a single plot, and has freedom of movement to 'walk the earth wherever he pleases'.[280] Parallels can be drawn between Falstaff and Ching-Ching, who both consume a great deal of alcohol, steal, and lie. Most importantly, like Falstaff, Ching-Ching is a comic character who is not confined by the pages of the stories. Bruns argues that while readers of novels join 'the march towards resolution', readers of comedy join 'the endless dance'.[281] He asserts that readers are more interested in finding out how Falstaff manoeuvres from one situation to the next than what happens to him in the end. Likewise, readers of the Ching-Ching stories join in the dance as Ching-Ching glides from one adventure to the next, wriggling himself out of one difficulty after another. Instead of laughing *at* Ching-Ching, readers laugh *with* Ching-Ching. Ching-Ching's physical and linguistic markers of Otherness were not regarded with repulsion and derision by young Victorian readers. On the contrary, they considered him a 'Guide, Friend and Councillor'.[282]

As pointed out in the Chapter One, children's texts on China are a product of the historic moment. Because Burrage was writing during a time when the number of Chinese immigrants in Britain was fairly low, his stories reflect a sense of ease about Ching-Ching's presence in Britain. Children were able to regard Ching-Ching as a friend because he was a non-threatening character who more or less assimilated to British culture after marrying Annette. Furthermore, his criminality was never on

[280] John Bruns, 'Get out of Gaol Free, or: How to Read a Comic Plot', *Journal of Narrative Theory*, 35.1 (2005), 25-59 (p. 28).
[281] Bruns, 'Get out of Gaol Free', 28.
[282] Burrage, 'Ching-Ching Memoirs', 136. At the beginning of the article, A. Harcourt Burrage quotes a poem from a reader named G. H. which ends with 'Guide, Friend and Councillor—Farewell! FAREWELL!'

the same level as the daring highwaymen or murderous barbers associated with infamous penny dreadfuls. Readers may not have learned many 'facts' about China and the Chinese from *Ching Ching's Own* because it rarely included articles about the country, but they were presented with the idea that a Chinese person could be their friend.[283]

In *Handsome Harry*, the narrator comments that Ching Ching's 'nature has so many contradictions in it that one scarcely knows what he is—I, the writer of his history, fail to fathom him, and it may be that he was even a puzzle to himself?'[284] This comment suggests that during the course of the serial story, Ching-Ching came to take on a life of his own and refused to be typecast. Although Burrage began his career as a penny dreadful writer, he did not adhere strictly to the conventions of the genre.

Ching-Ching may have started out as a lying kleptomaniac who fulfilled the role of a comic foreigner, but he evolved into a distinctive character that challenged generic conventions.[285] Because penny dreadful stories were published weekly, Burrage had the freedom to invent stories about Ching-Ching as he went along. Ching-Ching's allusive quality made him appealing and his knack for spinning yarns was particularly suited to the genre of serialized fiction because mini-digressions that have no direct relevance to the plot could be included each week. The fact that

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[283] For articles on China, see 'The Chinese "Cangue"', *The Best for Boys: Ching Ching's Own* I (New Series).10 (1890), 148; 'The Place for Boys', *The Best for Boys: Ching Ching's Own* II (New Series).15 (1891), 20; 'Boys and Girls in the Flowery Land', *The Best for Merry Boys: Ching Ching's Own* X (New Series).127 (1893), 159.

[284] Burrage, *Handsome Harry*, p. 162.

[285] Burrage was unconventional in another aspect because the boys in his school stories are never beaten by their schoolmasters, whereas other penny dreadful writers frequently described school beatings. This may also be due to the fact that as a child, he was often beaten with a cane by his teacher, and even as an adult, 'the sting of it still lingered with him', as he reveals in a letter that appeared in No. 28 of *The Garfield Boys' Journal*. In *Ching Ching's Own*, an article appeared condemning the practice of corporal punishment, claiming that 'Many a promising lad has been beaten into his grave, and the doctors used to put it down as consumption, scarlet fever, measles, anything but what it really was. We mean what we say. It was no joke, and we are downright serious': E. Harcourt Burrage, *Ching Ching's Own*, I.9 (1888), 67.

readers were not given details of Ching-Ching's past when he first appeared on the Belvedere also allowed Burrage creative space to continually devise amusing anecdotes about him. Had Burrage been working as a novelist, he would probably have been more restricted in terms of what he could do with the Ching-Ching character.

Ching-Ching's transformation from an outlandish globetrotter to a serious intelligent detective residing in England also challenges the idea of the image of the Other as fixed and unchanging. Considering that cheap periodicals were easily digested and disposed of and many did not survive for more than five years, Ching-Ching's seventeen-year 'literary career' was remarkable. In 1891, Burrage asserted that 'the day is far distant, we believe, when a generation will arise that knows not Chingy'.[286] He would therefore probably not have been surprised that four decades after Ching-Ching first appeared in 'Handsome Harry of the Fighting Belvedere', Ching-Ching's popularity was mentioned in one of the *Boy's Own Paper*'s correspondence columns.[287]

Although Ching-Ching is presented as a borderless individual with freedom to travel anywhere he pleases, this mobility is not perceived as a threat, unlike in later children's stories such as Captain Brereton's *The Dragon of Pekin* (1902) in which Chinese immigration is seen as dangerous.[288] The next two chapters will focus on

[286] 'Correspondence', *The Best for Boys: Ching Ching's Own* III.30 (1891), 110.
[287] The editor responded to a reader named H. T. Painter that 'The character you mention was so popular among its readers that the same publisher issued "Ching Ching's Own", which has also ceased. To give it a start a competition was devised, the prize being a semi-detached house. The house, which was in Leathwaite Road, Battersea Rise, was called Ching Ching's Villa, and bore the name for some years': 'Correspondence Column', *Boy's Own Paper*, 40 (1917-18), 391. There is a reference to Ching Ching's Bower and Harmony Hall in *Ching Ching's Own*, but not a Ching Ching's Villa. For more information on Harmony Hall, see 'Coming Records of Ching Ching and His Chums', *Ching Ching's Own*, II.19 (1888), 4.
[288] Brereton writes, 'China is the question of the future. If we are not careful her spare millions will swamp the world, for the Chinaman has taken to emigrating, and wherever he goes he prospers. He accepts a wage which to others is not a living one, and for it his vast fund of energy allows him to labour all day long. His living costs him next to nothing, for John Chinaman enjoys a feast from the leavings of other nations. He is frugal, hard-working and contented. Ay, I have seen him in Australia,

novels related to major historical events in Anglo-Chinese relations which contain more negative images of the Chinese. Chapter Four will examine the representation of the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64) while Chapter Five will investigate narratives of the Boxer Uprising (1899-1901).

Figure 7. 'Samson's unlimited faith in Ching-Ching forbade his interference in many a coarse practical joke'. From *Handsome Harry of the Fighting Belvedere*

Figure 8. 'Ching Ching's Christmas Party'. From *The Boy's Leisure Hour Christmas Number*

in America, and in Burma; and everywhere he is the same,--well dressed, thriving, and full of dignity and prosperity': Captain F. S. Brereton, *The Dragon of Pekin: A Tale of the Boxer Revolt* (London: Blackie and Son, 1902), p. 66.

Chapter Four

Heroes and Hostile Hordes: Representing the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64)

> Every opportunity is taken of putting into the mouths of the characters long descriptions of the usual kind, of Chinese manners and customs, none of which, however, throws any new light on the subjects dwelt on.
> —Review of *The Mandarin's Daughter* in *Athenaeum* (1876)[1]

One of the few Victorian novels about the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64) was *The Mandarin's Daughter: A Story of the Great Taiping Rebellion, and Gordon's "Ever-Victorious Army"* (1875), written by Samuel Mossman, a former editor of the *North China Herald* whose previous books had included non-fictional work such as *China: A Brief Account of the Country, Its Inhabitants and Their Institutions* (1867).[2] In the Preface of *The Mandarin's Daughter*, Mossman writes: 'Where the salient points of these memorable events [Taiping Rebellion] are narrated, the facts recorded in their history are strictly adhered to; so also are the secondary features of the narrative, in describing the customs and manners of the Chinese — consequently the amount of fiction is infinitesimal'.[3] Like William Dalton, Mossman utilized plot twists enabling his characters to travel to many parts of China so that he could introduce places such as the Grand Canal, the Yellow River, the Porcelain Tower, Chinese customs such as burial and marriage traditions, and curiosities such as outdoor barber shops, the 'punishment of the kang [cangue]', and 'a physiognomist who studied the characters of his customers by their features, to which he added a

[1] 'Book Review', *Athenaeum*, 2515 (1876), 53.
[2] *North China Herald*, the first English newspaper published in Shanghai, was started in 1850 by Henry Shearman. It became *North China Daily News* in 1864. Mossman was the second editor of the influential paper after Shearman. Samuel Mossman, *China: A Brief Account of the Country, Its Inhabitants and Their Institutions* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1867). Chapter V of this book deals with the Taiping Rebellion.
[3] Samuel Mossman, *The Mandarin's Daughter: A Story of the Great Taiping Rebellion, and Gordon's "Ever-Victorious Army"* (London: Griffith and Farran, 1876), p. v.

little fortune-telling by means of palmistry, the principles being defined in a book on these subjects amply illustrated'.[4] Even though Mossman boasted of his credentials as someone 'who has resided in [China] for some years; and who made it his study to understand the extraordinary people who inhabit it, their history, and institutions', his understanding of China and the Chinese was not enough to impress the reviewer in the *Athenaeum* who stated that none of the long descriptions of Chinese manners and customs in *The Mandarin's Daughter* sheds 'new light on the subjects dwelt on'.[5] As the reviewer's comment indicates, while the information about China imparted in *The Wolf Boy of China* was considered 'little-known' in Dalton's time, by 1875, it had become familiar and 'usual' because of the expansion of knowledge and the number of new books that introduced China to the general public. Although like *The Wolf Boy of China*, *The Mandarin's Daughter* was also marketed as a Christmas book, it received mostly negative reviews. While Dalton was praised for bringing the 'peculiarities' of the Chinese to readers in an 'entertaining and agreeable manner' that would attract young readers, Mossman was criticized for putting forth material 'in such a dry, dreary way that it becomes rather a matter of labour than of interest to read beyond a few chapters'.[6] The negative reviews that Mossman received suggest that while Dalton's formula for introducing China to the young may have been praiseworthy in the 1850s, it was much harder to deploy this familiar format successfully when writing about China in the 1870s. It also illustrates how critics expected children's literature to be more imaginative and

[4] Mossman, *The Mandarin's Daughter*, p. 322. Further page references are given after quotations in the text. Mossman's source for information on the Grand Canal and Yellow River is from Volume I of Alexander Williamson, *Journeys in North China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia*, 2 vols (London: Smith, Elder, 1870). His description of marriage customs comes from 'Marriages in China', *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China, and Australia*, XXIV (1827), 439-40. Mossman had previously described wedding ceremonies and funeral processions in *China*, pp. 265-67; 273-75.

[5] Mossman, *China*, p. iv; 'Book Review', 53.

[6] 'The Wolf-Boy of China', *Bentley's Miscellany Review*, 42 (1857), 424; 'Children's Books for Christmas', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 22 December 1875, p. 12.

entertaining after the publication of Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* in 1865, which heralded what has become known as the first 'golden age' of children's literature. As Peter Hunt puts it, any didactic intent during this period was 'a poor second to entertainment'.[7]

Although the customs and manners included in Mossman's book may have been rehashed from familiar material, the information provided about the Taiping Rebellion was not. A reviewer in *The Times* remarked that 'Mr. Samuel Mossman, speaking through the mouth of a Sergeant of Engineers, tells the story of the Taiping Rebellion, and the "ever-victorious Army" of "Chinese" Gordon, concerning whom we fancy some boys, and for the matter of that their elders, do not know quite so much as they might'.[8] As *The Times* review suggests, although the book is for boys, older readers would be able to glean information about the Taiping Rebellion from it. Because the story was originally serialized in *The Leisure Hour: An Illustrated Magazine for Home Reading* (1852-1905), a weekly 'family journal of instruction and recreation', it is not surprising that Mossman addresses his book to both 'the rising generation' and 'adult readers' in his preface (v).

According to Claudia Nelson, the number of historical tales that were published between 1870 and 1914 was greater than those that appeared between 1820 and 1870, and most of them were intended for children.[9] Adults believed that historical fiction was an effective way to make history interesting for young readers because instead of memorizing important dates by rote, they would be able to gain more understanding of the events and obtain moral lessons from the past through a story set during that period. Many parents and teachers hoped that children might be

[7] Peter Hunt, *An Introduction to Children's Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 59.
[8] 'Christmas Books', *The Times*, 28 December 1875, p. 10. Born in Woolwich to a Scottish military officer in 1833, Charles George Gordon ('Chinese' Gordon) became the most famous commander of the Ever-Victorious Army, which was called to help suppress the Taiping Rebellion.
[9] Claudia Nelson, *Boys Will Be Girls: The Feminine Ethic and British Children's Fiction, 1857-1917* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991), pp. 88-90.

inculcated with national pride and inspired to emulate the great historical figures they learned about because the stories of their lives would, according to a Board of Education Circular of 1905, 'furnish the most impressive examples of obedience, loyalty, courage, strenuous effort, serviceableness, indeed of all the qualities which make for good citizenship'.[10] For example, readers of *Simple Stories from English History for Young Readers* (1898) are told that '[e]very boy and girl should be proud that Gordon was an Englishman, and should say to themselves: "I will also be a hero as Gordon was"'.[11] Titles such as G. A. Henty's *With Clive in India* (1884) and *With Kitchener in the Sudan* (1902) exemplify the trend of writers for boys of placing their adolescent protagonists alongside noteworthy historical figures such as Robert Clive (1725-1774) and Horatio Herbert Kitchener (1850-1916) so that their reader, bypassing age and class hierarchies, could participate vicariously in real historical events. By allowing their heroes to experience adventures set in different time periods, authors such as Henty hoped to make history 'go down with the boys' and that readers would aspire to be as courageous as the heroes were.[12] Victorian journalist and children's literature critic Edward Salmon presented this idea in 1888 when he stated that when a boy reads, 'It is the God-fearing courage of a Gordon which his reading should engender, not the ignoble daring of a Ned Kelly'.[13] The 'God-fearing' military hero Charles Gordon (1833-1885) was 'an archetype of missionary imperialism', who was presented as an 'Englishman willing to sacrifice

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[10] Quoted in Eric Evans, 'The Victorians at School: The Victorian Era in the Twentieth-Century Curriculum', in *The Victorians since 1901: Histories, Representations and Revisions*, ed. by Miles Taylor and Michael Wolff (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 181-97 (p. 182). As Kim Wilson puts it, 'Historical fiction calls upon the qualities pertinent to the national character in an attempt to convey the historical importance of the event, people, or time period on which the narrative focuses': Kim Wilson, '"Are They Telling Us the Truth?": Constructing National Character in the Scholastic Press Historical Journal Series', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, 32.2 (2007), 129-41 (p. 131).

[11] *Simple Stories from English History for Young Readers* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1898), p. 186.

[12] G. A. Henty, 'Writing Books for Boys', *Answers*, (1902), 105.

[13] Edward Salmon, *Juvenile Literature as It Is* (London: Drane, 1888), p. 237.

all for the betterment of the primitive Other'.[14]

As the title of Mossman's book suggests, Gordon, the most famous commander of the Ever-Victorious Army, was one of the historical figures that figured prominently in British recollections of the Taiping Rebellion. In addition to Gordon, Mossman also incorporated the American adventurer Henry Burgevine (1836-1865), Li Hongzhang (1823-1901), the Chinese statesman, and other key figures of the Rebellion into the story. In 1901, Bessie Marchant (1862-1941), a popular girl's adventure story writer known as the 'girl's Henty' or 'female Henty', revisited the Taiping Rebellion in *Among Hostile Hordes: A Story of the Tai-ping Rebellion*.[15] Like Mossman's story, Marchant's also included real historical figures, namely, Charles Gordon, Henry Burgevine, and Hong Xiuquan (1814-1864), the leader of the Taiping Rebellion. As John Stephens has argued, historical fiction is 'the discoursal product of firm ideological intentions, written and read in a specific, complex cultural situation'.[16] Therefore, although both *The Mandarin's Daughter* and *Among Hostile Hordes* deal with the same events and incorporate similar historical figures into their narratives, the fact that there was a twenty-five-year gap between the publication dates of the two novels contributed to the many differences

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[14] Brook Miller, 'Our Abdiel: The British Press and the Lionization of "Chinese" Gordon', *Nineteenth-Century Prose*, 32.2 (2005), 127-53 (p. 127). As Rowbotham has pointed out, hagiographic biographies of military figures such as Gordon helped to shape the image of the Victorian British army as a Christian force. See Judith Rowbotham, '"Soldiers of Christ"? Images of Female Missionaries in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain: Issues of Heroism and Martyrdom', *Gender & History*, 12.1 (2000), 82-106 (p. 85).

[15] D. L. Murray, 'Bessie Marchant', *Times Literary Supplement*, 15 November 1941, p. 569. See also Sally Mitchell, *The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England, 1880-1915* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), p. 116. One of her major publishers, Blackie & Son, established her as one of their most popular authors, and *The Times* book club listed Marchant and school story writer Angela Brazil (1868-1947) as two of the girls' favourite authors in 1921. See 'For the Child Who Loves Books', *The Times*, 17 December 1921, p. 13. The *Academy Christmas Supplement* of 1900 includes two of her books in their top eighty-eight books for 'growing boys and girls' that 'charm and stimulate the mind of Young England': 'Tales for Boys and Girls', *Academy Christmas Supplement*, (1900), 562. Despite her literary fame, she suffered financial difficulties which forced her to borrow money and even consider selling her furniture. See Alan Major, 'Bessie Marchant: The Maid of Kent Whose Exciting Stories Thrilled Thousands of English Children', *This England* Winter, (1991), 30-33 (p. 31).

[16] John Stephens, *Language and Ideology in Children's Fiction* (Harlow, Essex, UK: Longman, 1992), p. 205.

between the two stories. In this chapter I examine how Victorian children's writers utilized the historical fiction genre to portray the Taiping Rebellion and the key figures involved in the events. I look at the 'complex cultural situation' surrounding the authors at the time of writing and discuss how it may have influenced their ideological intentions. This chapter first provides a brief history of the Taiping Rebellion then discusses *The Mandarin's Daughter* before examining relevant literature in the popular children's magazine *Boy's Own Paper* (1879-1967). Because both the *Boy's Own Paper* (*BOP*) and *The Leisure Hour*, the magazine in which *The Mandarin's Daughter* was first serialized, were published by the Religious Tract Society, it is worth comparing how the Taiping Rebellion is depicted in the *BOP* articles and Mossman's work. The main focus of the chapter will be on *Among Hostile Hordes*, which I argue can be read as a narrative that reflects anxiety about the later Boxer Uprising (1899-1901) rather than the Taiping Rebellion.

The Taiping Rebellion (1850-64)

Mossman specified in his preface to *The Mandarin's Daughter* that he aimed to 'convey a truthful account of the most gigantic insurrection and foreign war that ever occurred in that disturbed empire' (v). The Taiping Rebellion, which has been described by a modern historian as the 'longest, fiercest and most destructive war of the nineteenth-century world', started in Guangxi under the leadership of a former schoolteacher from Guangdong named Hong Xiuquan.[17] In 1836, Hong had travelled to Canton to take an examination to obtain the *xiucai* degree, where he received a copy of *Quanshi liangyan* ('Good Words Exhorting the Age'), a nine-volume booklet containing a collection of Bible passages translated by Robert Morrison (1782-1834) and brief commentaries compiled by Liang Afa (1789-1855),

[17] Jack Gray, *Rebellions and Revolutions: China from the 1800s to 2000*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 75. It is estimated that twenty to thirty million people died during the Taiping Rebellion.

a Chinese evangelist working for the London Missionary Society.[18] He did not read the pamphlets carefully at the time and set them aside when he returned home from Canton. Later, after another failed attempt to pass the exam, Hong fell seriously ill. He claims that during this time, he had visions about an old man in heaven who handed him a sword and urged him to destroy demons. He also saw a middle-aged man who taught him how to exterminate these demons. These images did not make sense to him until 1843 when he began reading the Christian tracts he had received years before.[19] He began to interpret the visions based on the tracts and declared himself to be the second son of God and the younger brother of Jesus Christ. Not long after, Hong began preaching and baptized some relatives and friends, including a man named Feng Yunshan, who later formed 'The God-worshippers Society'. Members of this society, who vowed to destroy their idols and stop worshipping evil spirits, were known as 'God-worshippers' in Britain. In 1847, Hong travelled to Canton to receive instruction from an American missionary named Issachar J. Roberts (1802-1871). When he came back, he found the number of God-worshippers had increased dramatically. Soon the Society became political in nature and eventually attempted to overthrow the Manchu government.

During the 1840s, China suffered from the aftermath of several natural disasters, including severe famines in 1849 and 1850. Hong attracted many followers by promising land reform, advocating equality, establishing a common treasury, working towards the overthrowing of the landlords and fighting for the expulsion of the ruling Manchus. After adopting the title of *Tianwang* (Heavenly King) in 1851, Hong, with a large following of more than 1,000,000, captured

[18] See Jonathan D. Spence, *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan* (New York: Norton, 1996), pp. 30-31.
[19] For information on Hong's visions, see Vincent Y.C. Shih, *The Taiping Ideology: Its Sources, Interpretations, and Influences* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967).

Nanjing in 1853, claiming it as the capital city of the 'Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace' (*Taiping Tianguo*).[20] Hong's chief subordinates were given titles ending with '*wang*' (king). Two of the '*wangs*', Yang Xiuqing (the 'Eastern King') and Xiao Chaogui (the 'Western King'), who claimed to be spirit mediums possessed by God and Jesus, respectively, became particularly powerful men within the leadership.[21] Part of the Taiping army headed north in an attempt to take Peking, but the Manchu imperial troops (known as 'Imperialists' in much of the contemporary literature) stopped them. However, the Taipings maintained control of Nanjing and much of the lower part of the Yangzi Valley for over ten years.

When news of the Taiping insurgents first reached England in the early 1850s, the British were divided over whether to support or condemn them.[22] Some believed that the Taipings were Christians who should be encouraged, while others disagreed, arguing that the conversion of the Chinese was too good to be true.[23] Most missionaries originally supported the Taiping movement because they heard that many idols were being smashed by Hong's followers, which made them optimistic about the likelihood of China becoming a Christian nation under the Taipings. This would then lead to the abandoning of barbarous customs such as foot-binding, the banning of opium-smoking, and the encouragement of trade. As Mossman noted in his preface to *The Mandarin's Daughter*, there was 'hope that it might have been the

[20] For a detailed account of Hong's life, see Spence, *God's Chinese Son.*

[21] For more information on Yang and Xiao see Robert P. Weller, *Resistance, Chaos and Control in China: Taiping Rebels, Taiwanese Ghosts and Tiananmen* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), pp. 73-74; Rudolf G. Wagner, *Reenacting the Heavenly Vision: The Role of Religion in the Taiping Rebellion* (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley Institute of East Asian Studies, 1982); Thomas H. Reilly, *The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom: Rebellion and the Blasphemy of Empire* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004).

[22] According to Clarke and Gregory, Westerners only gained a more informed picture of the Taiping movement in early 1853 when direct contact was made between the British and the Taipings. See Prescott Clarke and J. S. Gregory, eds., *Western Reports on the Taiping: A Selection of Documents* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1982), p. 4.

[23] In 1857, the Saturday Review argued that if the Taipings prevailed, 'Christianity would have less chance in China than under present circumstances': 'Exeter Hall on the Chinese War', *Saturday Review*, 9 May 1857, pp. 422-23 (p. 422).

means of regenerating China, through the spread of Christianity' (vi). However, by 1862 missionaries were railing against the destructive and blasphemous nature of the rebellion.[24] British readers were disturbed by the Taipings because they represented the nightmare of a proselytizing mission gone horribly wrong. As Hong's distorted interpretation of the Bible tracts he received revealed, once Christianity was in the hands of the Chinese, there was no knowing what monstrosity would come of it. Instead of helping expunge 'savagery' from China, the missionary efforts indirectly sparked a rapacious rampage on a massive scale in the southern part of the country.

Little about the Rebellion appeared in contemporary children's texts, perhaps because it was regarded as a civil war.[25] The few texts that mention the insurrection were written by missionaries who were interested in the Taipings' understanding of Christianity. For example, an article in the *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* in 1853 tells of Liang Afa distributing 'Good Words to Admonish the Age' at the examination hall where Hong received a copy. The article was optimistic about Hung Seu Tsuen [*sic*], who is described as a 'great chief' of the Chinese rebellion, and his ability to transform China into a Christian country.[26] By 1862, however, the tone among children's writers had changed. Aunt Helen [Helen Collins], a missionary's wife, wrote in *China and Its People: A Book for Young Readers* that Hung-siu-tsuien [*sic*] reads the Bible and professes to believe 'that it is the word of

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[24] J. S. Gregory, *Great Britain and the Taipings* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1969), p. 137. For example, in 1861 the *London Review* quoted a man named Mr. Holmes who wrote, 'I found nothing of Christianity but its names applied to a system of revolting idolatry [...]. They speak of the wife of the Heavenly Father, and the wife of Jesus, the daughter of the Heavenly Father [...]. Furthermore, they hold that the Tien Wong (Tae Ping) is the Son of God, [...]. Polygamy is another dark feature in the system. The Tien Wong has married thirty wives, and has one hundred women in his harem': 'The Chinese Insurgents, and Our Policy with Respect to Them', *London Review*, 16.31 (1861), 222-46 (p. 235). In 1853, missionary S. W. Williams stated that the Taiping religion was a 'mixture of Christianity, Mohammedanism, fanaticism, and idolatry in their books': Quoted in Ssu-yu Teng, *The Taiping Rebellion and the Western Powers: A Comprehensive Survey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 192.

[25] The American Civil War (1861-65) was raging at this time and more attention was paid to it.

[26] 'The Rebellion in China', *Juvenile Missionary Magazine*, 113 (1853), 220-24.

God; but he has many wrong notions'.[27] His followers 'overrun the country, drive out the inhabitants of the walled cities, and are very cruel to those who resist them'.[28] Aunt Helen concludes that '[c]ivil war is very terrible; and we must feel for the poor Chinese, and pray that God will be pleased to bring good out of this evil'.[29]

Many others accused the Taipings of being 'savages' and 'marauders' who used Christianity as a means of gaining sympathy from foreigners.[30] The *Saturday Review* sums up the attitude that many British had about the 'Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace': 'It proclaimed universal peace, and employed a lawless banditti to inaugurate it'.[31] The Taipings were seen as rapacious criminals who turned against their own people and 'made the land a desert' wherever they went. Innocent people who did not manage to escape from their homes in time were forced into unpaid labour or 'massacred out of hand'.[32]

The British decision to intervene came after much debate. After 1862, the British decided to support the Imperialist troops mainly because they felt the need to protect their foreign settlements in Shanghai and future trade interests in China: in the words of the *Saturday Review*, 'unless order could be restored, the ruin of the whole trade of China seemed inevitable'.[33] British newspapers were soon reporting on the movements of the Imperialist forces, particularly after Charles George Gordon ('Chinese' Gordon) became commander of the Ever-Victorious Army on 24

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[27] Helen Collins, *China and Its People: A Book for Young Readers* (London: Nisbet, 1862), p. 30.
[28] Collins, *China and Its People*, p. 29.
[29] Collins, *China and Its People*, p. 30.
[30] Teng, *The Taiping Rebellion*, p. 182.
[31] 'China', *Saturday Review*, 6 August 1864, p. 182.
[32] 'China', 182. Aunt Helen also mentions that 'Hang chau' [Hangzhou] is now a 'desert' because of Taipings (43).
[33] 'The Rebellion of China', *Saturday Review*, 1 October 1864, pp. 418-19 (p. 419). Earlier in 1855, James McDonald wrote in a letter to the Editor of *The Times* that the 'rebellion has cost England the loss of the manufacture, transport, and sale of about a million and a half pieces of cotton a year [...] many years must yet elapse ere this trade returns to its former prosperous state'. However, he observes that raw silk exports to England have increased because of the decrease in native demand. James MacDonald, 'The Rebellion in China', *The Times*, 21 August 1855, p. 10. For more information on the debates revolving British intervention, see Gregory, *Great Britain and the Taipings* and Teng, *The Taiping Rebellion*.

March 1863, three years after his arrival in China. Gordon had been preceded by two Americans, Frederick Townsend Ward (1831-1862) and Henry A. Burgevine. After General Ward was killed in action near Ningbo in September 1862, the Ever-Victorious Army came directly under the control of Li Hongzhang, who, under the strong recommendation of the United States minister, Anson Burlingame, appointed Burgevine as the next leader. However, Li dismissed Burgevine after learning that he had assaulted the banker of the Army for money. The Army was composed of around 3,500-4,000 men, including soldiers from England, Germany, Spain, France, and America, as well as Chinese volunteers and former members of the Taiping forces.[34] These soldiers were known for their undisciplined nature, a fact which Gordon biographers repeatedly emphasized in order to extol his ability to lead the troops to victory under unpromising circumstances. For example, the *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* asserted that 'under the sway of his genius', Gordon's troops 'soon became a formidable army'.[35] Nanjing was eventually captured in 1864, and the Rebellion ended not long after. Not only was Gordon extolled as a great military hero for the part he played in quelling the Rebellion, but he was further praised for his refusal of monetary rewards when he rejected the 10,000 taels offered to him by the Emperor of China for his service. He reportedly left China as poor as (or even poorer) than when he arrived because he donated much of his money to the needy Chinese.

According to Prescott Clarke and J. S. Gregory, nineteenth-century Westerners wrote a great deal about the Taiping Rebellion, perhaps as much as the Chinese did at the time, because they were interested in the quasi-Christianity of Hong and his

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[34] Ward was an American shipmaster commissioned a General by the Imperial government to lead the fight against the Taipings.

[35] 'Career of General Gordon', *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 14 February 1885, p. 8. According to Raymond Chapman, 'The idea that events could be dynamically influenced by outstanding individuals was implicit in many Victorian appeals to the past, and explicit in certain texts': Raymond Chapman, *The Sense of the Past in Victorian Literature* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), p. 24.

followers.[36] T. T. Meadows's *The Chinese and Their Rebellions* (1856), Theodore Hamberg's *The Visions of Hung-Siu-tshuen, and Origin of the Kwang-si Insurrection* (1854), Captain Blakiston's *Five Months on the Yang-Tsze; with a Narrative of the Exploration of its Upper Waters, and Notices of the Present Rebellion in China* (1862), and Andrew Wilson's *The 'Ever Victorious Army', A History of the Chinese Campaign under Lieut.-Colonel C.G. Gordon, C.B., R.E., and of the Suppression of the Tai-ping Rebellion* (1868) are just a few of the numerous books dedicated to the subject.[37] Periodicals such as the *Saturday Review*, *London Review*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and *Pall Mall Gazette*, missionary publications such as the *Chinese Repository*, *Missionary Magazine and Chronicle*, newspapers such as the *Illustrated London News*, *The Times* and *North China Herald*, and consular officer government reports all contained information on the Taiping Rebellion.[38]

Samuel Mossman's *The Mandarin's Daughter*

As editor of the *North China Herald*, Mossman gained his information about the interior of the Taiping quarters in Nanjing, the condition of Taiping women, and Taiping weddings from articles contributed by an interpreter for the British consular service named R. J. Forrest, which were later included in *Five Months on the Yang-tsze*.[39] *The Mandarin's Daughter*, which reflects the intersection between history, journalism, and fiction, is narrated by Sergeant Cameron, a member of the Royal

[36] Clarke and Gregory, eds., *Western Reports on the Taiping*, p. xvi.

[37] Thomas Taylor Meadows, *The Chinese and Their Rebellions* (Stanford, CA: Academic Reprints, [1953]); Theodore Hamberg, *The Visions of Hung-Siu-Tshuen, and Origin of the Kwang-Si Insurrection* (Hong Kong: China Mail, 1854); Thomas W. Blakiston, *Five Months on the Yang-Tsze; with a Narrative of the Exploration of Its Upper Waters, and Notices of the Present Rebellions in China* (London: Murray, 1862); Andrew Wilson, *The 'Ever-Victorious Army': A History of the Chinese Campaign under Lt.Col. C.G. Gordon, C.B. R.E. and of the Suppression of the Tai-Ping Rebellion* (London: Blackwood, 1868).

[38] See for example, 'The Taepings and Their Remedy', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, (1863), 135-42; 'Disturbances in Kwangsi', *Chinese Repository*, XIX (1851), 462; 'Taeping Rebellion in China', *Illustrated London News*, 12 March 1864, pp. 261-66; 'Imperialist Expedition to Fungwha', *Illustrated London News*, 7 February 1863, p. 150.

[39] R. J. Forrest, 'The Taipings at Home', *North China Herald*, 19 October 1861. Quoted in Blakiston, *Five Months on the Yang-Tsze*, pp. 44-55.

Engineers. At the beginning of the story, he sails from Melbourne to Hong Kong because all available British forces were ordered to join the army and fleet assembling there towards the end of Second Opium War (1856-60).[40] Cameron falls in love with Loo A-lee, a maid of honour to the Empress, after saving her amid the ruins of the Summer Palace (Yuanmingyuan), which was burned down by the foreign powers in 1860, an act he justifies as retribution against the cruel treatment of British captives.[41] Cameron escorts Loo A-lee to her father's luxurious mansion within the walls of Peking and becomes a frequent guest of the Loos, who are both Christians (though not of the Taiping kind). However, Foong Cut-sing, an emissary from the Taipings whose responsibility is to recruit new members to the 'Heavenly Kingdom', also falls in love with A-lee and convinces her father Meng-kee to travel to Nanjing to meet with Tien Wang. Instead of conversing with Tien Wang in person however, Meng-kee meets with Kan Wang [Gan Wang, Hong Ren'gan] and is sent to engage in treaty talks with the English in Shanghai.[42] Along the journey, he witnesses the destructive nature of the rebellion and concludes that these self-proclaimed Christians are 'hypocrites and deceivers' because they 'gloried in robbing their industrious countrymen', engaging in activities such as 'burning and sacking the shops and houses' (183; 260). He withdraws from the cause but misfortune strikes and he would have starved to death in a temple had it not been for

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[40] Mossman gives statistics about the war, such as the 'capture of the treacherous batteries of Takoo' where 'The success was not achieved without heavy loss. A large number of the casualties were among the officers, 22 of whom were more or less severely wounded. Of the men, 17 were killed outright, and 161 wounded. The French had about 130 casualties, and some of their officers were killed' (44). His source for the descriptions of the war is Robert Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860* (London: Smith, Elder, 1861), p. 137. The same information is also given in W. H. G. Kingston, *Our Soldiers; or, Anecdotes of the Campaigns and Gallant Deeds of the British Army During the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria* (London: Griffith and Farran, 1863), p. 279.

[41] For analysis of how the *Illustrated London News* portrayed this incident, see Gillian B. Bickley, 'Plum Puddings and Sharp Boys, "One Touch of Nature Makes the Whole World Ken": An Analysis of the China Coverage in the *Illustrated London News*, 5 January to 23 September 1861', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch*, 38 (1998-99), 147-71.

[42] Hong Ren'gan (1822-1864), Hong Xiuquan's cousin, held an important position in the Taiping Kingdom.

Cameron's miraculous appearance in the vicinity. After hearing Meng-kee's story, Cameron helps him obtain a post with the staff officers and interpreters working for Gordon. Meanwhile, Foong Cut-sing forces A-lee to accompany him to Suzhou. Gordon's army takes the city, the rebels surrender, and Tien Wang commits suicide. The successful suppression of the Taiping Rebellion is characterized as 'one of the most brilliant campaigns of modern warfare in the far East, in which British valour and generalship maintained its supremacy in the field' (335). Cameron meets A-lee again when the Taipings are negotiating with Gordon and saves her from Foong. Even though as a native wife, A-lee 'could not secure the privileges of an English one, and that any children from such a union would be debarred from the hereditary rights of property', she chooses to marry Cameron and they settle in Nanjing (339). The story concludes with hints that their son will be born not long after.

While the love between Captain Richardson and Sang in *The Wolf Boy of China*, and the adoration of Louis Segnier for Fan-si in *The Travels of Rolando* was acceptable in the 1850s, attitudes towards interracial marriage had changed by the 1870s, because the *Athenaeum* reviewer writes: 'The wide gulf that separates us from the Chinese in everything that is distinctive in the two nations would, under any circumstances, render it extremely difficult to write a love story, having any resemblance of probability or even possibility, in which the hero should be an English solider and the heroine a Mandarin's daughter'.[43] Although Mossman tries to make this marriage believable by emphasizing that A-lee resembled an English lady in that she 'had a complexion as fair as the ordinary run of her sisters in England', that her eyes were not 'so acute in the angle of the eyelids as we see Chinese eyes generally represented' and 'her feet were of the natural size, not having been bandaged into a stump', the perceived differences between the two cultures had

[43] 'Book Review', 53.

formed a chasm so wide that the love between an Englishman and a Chinese woman was unable to bridge it (76). Events that contributed to creating the seemingly impassable gulf between the two countries include the Tianjin Massacre of 1870 where a number of foreigners and Chinese Christians were killed and the Margary Affair of 1875 where Raymond Augustus Margary, a British vice-consul, was murdered in Yunnan province on his way back from an expedition in Burma.[44] In particular, the Wusong Railway dispute of 1876 caused much discontent because the Chinese were angry that the British built the railway from Shanghai to Wusong without authorization and without regard for *fengshui* principles.[45]

Like Dalton, Mossman was aware of racial tensions in China and informs his readers that there is 'animosity that subsists between the pure Chinese and their Tartar rulers' (48). To illustrate this, he incorporates one of the authors he consulted, Robert Swinhoe, into the story, quoting (without acknowledgment) from Swinhoe's reported conversation with an old Chinese gentleman in *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860.* The man expresses hatred of the Tartars, calling them 'a wretched, filthy horde of men from the wilds of Mongolia, who love to oppress the people, and steal from them all they possess' (47). Like Anne Bowman's Ki-chan, this Chinese man is an advocate for trade relations between China and Britain, claiming that both nations would benefit from it:

> We felt sure that your object in coming here was for the purposes of trade, and surely that was a boon for both countries! But these Tartars, who acquired this country themselves by treachery, are naturally jealous of every other nation, because they are suspicious, and think that the main object of all other people is to wrest away from them by treachery what they won by the same base means. (46)[46]

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[44] For more information, see Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, 'Late Ch'ing Foreign Relations, 1866-1975', in *The Cambridge History of China*, ed. by Denis Twitchett and John King Fairbank, II, part 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 70-141.

[45] For more information on the history of the Railway, see David Pong, 'Confucian Patriotism and the Destruction of the Woosung Railway, 1877', *Modern Asian Studies*, 7.4 (1973), 647-76.

[46] The entire conversation can be found in Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign*, pp. 159-61.

He does not object to the foreign presence in China and even claims that the British troops 'must eventually conquer the world' (47). The Chinese are presented as inferior people who needed to be relieved of oppression and are willing to accept foreign dominance if it could bring alleviation from the suffering caused by the Tartars. In choosing to include this conversation as representative of the majority view of Chinese people, Mossman seems to be providing a justification for British imperialist ambitions in China in terms of a major trading relationship which would be more beneficial to Britain than China.

At the beginning of *The Mandarin's Daughter*, Gordon asks one of the interpreters in her Majesty's consular service in China whether he has seen anything of the 'Great Flowery Land' and the 'accomplished naturalist' replies:

> Yes, I have had a walk into the country, among those hills on the northern shore. 'What a delightful spot for a botanist!' you exclaim to yourself as you scramble up the hill side and put your foot accidentally on a lovely pink, or scratch your fingers in grasping at a rosebush, on which dozens of large bright red flowers cluster, at once gladdening the eye with their tints, and delighting the sense of smell with their fragrance, you at last attain the summit of the hill, and look proudly down on the fine fleet of ships sleeping lazily below, on the calm still waters of the bay, with no perceptible signs of life save here and there small specks of boats hastening to and fro. (33)[47]

This picturesque description, which is similar to Bowman's depiction of China, contrasts greatly with the scenes of massive destruction that Meng-kee witnesses later in the southern parts of China: 'Words cannot convey any idea of the utter ruin and desolation which marked the line of Taiping march from Nanking to Soochow' (278). Similarly, many of the *BOP* travel narratives and stories related to the Taiping Rebellion describe how the rebels destroyed the beautiful Chinese landscape. The authors frequently juxtapose the fertility of the unscathed land to the barrenness of the earth after the Taiping soldiers stormed through the provinces. For example, one

[47] This description is copied from Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign*, pp. 15-16.

could witness their 'cruelty and riot' throughout 'the richest and most fertile districts of China'. Suzhou and Hangzhou, 'great historical cities', were becoming 'desolate ruins in their possession'.[48] In 'A Trip up the Yang-tze Kiang' (1897-98), John Morrison confirms that all the places 'which had been overrun by the Taiping rebels' invariably became scenes of 'ruin and desolation'.[49] All the way up to Nanjing and beyond, 'the same aspect of ruin and desolation prevailed', and 'not a living thing, not even a cultivated field, was to be seen'.[50] Wuhu, which had been 'well occupied and fertile' in the hands of the Imperialists, fell to the same fate when the Taipings raided the city some months later.[51] Morrison's description echoes that of Captain Blakiston, who writes in *Five Months on the Yang-tsze*, a book aimed at adults, that the Taiping rebels left behind nothing but devastation and dilapidation: 'The scene of desolation was as complete as at Nanking or Chin-kiang [Zhenjiang], and the whole distance from the suburb to the town was one heap of ruins [...] the population appeared to be in a starving condition'.[52]

If destruction of landscape was lamentable, loss of human life was even more so. Meng-kee sees '[h]uman remains were lying about in all directions' and the 'number of dead bodies that continually met the eye was indescribably sickening to the heart' (277).[53] The narrator of 'A Ticklish Trip in a Chinese House-Boat' (1897) describes similar scenes he and his friend witnessed during the midst of the Rebellion in 1859-61, such as the canals as being 'choked with dead bodies'.[54] On their way up the river, they find the cities burned and the surrounding country, (prior to the rebellion, one of the 'finest and most cultivated' areas), 'practically a

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[48] 'Chinese Gordon', *Boy's Own Paper*, 6 (1884), 487.
[49] John Morrison, 'A Trip up the Yang-Tze Kiang', *Boy's Own Paper*, 20 (1897-98), 27.
[50] Morrison, 'A Trip up the Yang-Tze Kiang', 27.
[51] Morrison, 'A Trip up the Yang-Tze Kiang', 27.
[52] Blakiston, *Five Months on the Yang-Tsze*, p. 58.
[53] R. J. Forrest provides similar descriptions in Clarke and Gregory, eds., *Western Reports on the Taiping*, p. 342.
[54] 'A Ticklish Trip in a Chinese House-Boat', *Boy's Own Paper*, 19 (1896-97), 488.

jungle'.[55] The next day they are sickened to find that dead bodies are lying about the ruins of what used to be a pretty village. The scenes of death coincide with missionary Josiah Cox's reports in 1862, where the canal was 'covered with dead bodies at some distances from the city of Su-chau [Suzhou]' so thick was the 'pack of human bodies' and so strong the stench that travellers were forced to change route to reach the city.[56] What is noteworthy is that there is little difference between the texts written for children and for adults in terms of descriptions of death. The Taiping rebels are portrayed as reckless, impulsive, and uncontrollable people who need civilizing. Mossman writes that the 'scenes of starvation, death, and worse' that Meng-kee observed 'are unknown in European warfare — frightful as they sometimes are' (268). Even worse, '[s]uch was the destitution that human flesh was greedily devoured, and inhuman butchers actually went about selling it by weight' (268). A biography for children entitled *General Gordon and Lord Dundonald: The Story of Two Heroic Lives* also describes scenes of cannibalism and terror:

> Hundreds of gaunt and starving wretches were seen wandering about living on refuse, or human flesh, amongst the ruins of their villages. In one place were found fifty men, women, and children, either with heads cut off or throats cut. Flaying alive and pounding to death was a common punishment at the hands of the rebels.[57]

These horrific descriptions are shockingly confronting images of the brutality of war. Anthony Kearney has argued that Victorian descriptions of the savage and barbaric, were 'seen to have further positive uses in reinforcing a sense of civilized values (Saxon and Protestant) when, as was usually the case, the ultra-horrific was associated with alien practices—i.e. those belonging either to the remote past or to countries safely beyond Europe'.[58] This is apparent in the way that both Mossman

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[55] 'A Ticklish Trip', 488.
[56] Clarke and Gregory, eds., *Western Reports on the Taiping*, p. 309. Cox was a Wesleyan missionary.
[57] *General Gordon and Lord Dundonald: The Story of Two Heroic Lives* (London: Chambers, [1895?]), p. 19.
[58] Anthony Kearney, 'Savage and Barbaric Themes in Victorian Children's Writing', *Children's Literature in Education*, 17.4 (1986), 233-40 (p. 234).

and *BOP* authors associate the Taiping Rebellion with fire, bloodshed, destruction, desolation, and ruin, leaving young readers with a gruesome impression of the Taiping rebels, who are represented as much more vicious and inhumane than the Europeans. Another, possibly inadvertent, effect of such representations however, is to draw attention to the brutality and destruction intrinsic to imperialism in general.

Writing in 1890, Edward Salmon asserted that '[t]here is now none of the writing down to the child's intelligence or supposed intelligence, which used to degrade equally the writer and the reader'.[59] His statement is supported by the fact that descriptions of the Taiping Rebellion for children and the reports on the Taipings meant for adults are indistinguishable from each other, suggesting that children were not being written 'down to' and were expected to respond intelligently to these terrible graphic descriptions of human suffering. Reading these stories in Britain, they were reassured of their own safety in 'civilized' society and made aware of the 'wide gulf that separates us from the Chinese' referred to by the reviewer of *The Mandarin's Daughter*.

Between the publication of *The Mandarin's Daughter* in 1875 and the appearance of Bessie Marchant's *Among Hostile Hordes: A Story of the Tai-ping Rebellion* in 1901, no other full-length children's novels focusing on the Taiping Rebellion appeared. In Jules Verne's *The Tribulations of a Chinaman in China* (1879), the Taiping Rebellion is mentioned in passing as a 'formidable uprising' that 'threatened the reigning dynasty'. Had it not been for 'the Viceroy Li, and Prince Kong, and especially the English Colonel Gordon', the narrator states, the Emperor would not have been able to save his throne.[60] Gordon is also an important figure in

[59] Edward Salmon, 'Should Children Have a Special Literature?', *The Parent's Review*, 5 (1890), 337-44, (repr. in *A Peculiar Gift: Nineteenth Century Writings on Books for Children*, ed. by Lance Salway (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, UK: Kestrel, 1976), pp. 332-39), p. 334.
[60] Jules Verne, *The Tribulations of a Chinaman in China* (New York: Dillingham, 1879), p. 21.

Marchant's *Among Hostile Hordes* but before comparing how key historical figures in the Taiping Rebellion were depicted by different children's authors, I will first introduce the novel, which the *Academy Christmas Supplement* of 1901 recommended as a book for readers aged eight to fourteen.[61]

Among Hostile Hordes: A Story of the Tai-ping Rebellion

A review in the *Athenaeum* characterizes *Among Hostile Hordes: A Story of the Tai-ping Rebellion* as a 'thrilling romance' and informs readers that the book 'takes us into the heart of China, and shows us what befalls the intrepid 'foreign devils'—traders, doctors, missionaries—who take their lives in their hands and venture to carry the things of the West into the Middle Kingdom'.[62] The statement suggests that *Among Hostile Hordes* is not so much a text about 'discovering' the Chinese as was the case in Bowman and Dalton's novels as it is about the experience of the now established Western community in China. Because there was a much larger group of foreigners living in China at the turn of the century compared to mid-century when China had just been 'opened', Marchant was more concerned with depicting the lives of these residents rather than introducing the manners and customs of the Chinese. She uses the novel to discuss the 'work' being done in China, particularly missionary endeavours. In *Among Hostile Hordes*, she focuses on the lives and concerns of three major categories of Westerners in China: military men, missionaries, and merchants.

At the beginning of the story, which is set during the final months of the Taiping Rebellion, when 'Tien Wang's power was on the wane', John Armstrong, an employee of a Shanghai shipping company and his thirteen-year-old son Don are

[61] 'Books for Boys and Girls', *Academy Christmas Supplement*, 61 (1901), 555-559 (p. 556). From 1900 to 1941, Marchant's name regularly appeared in the annual 'Christmas Books for Girls' section of *The Times*, mostly under the 'Adventure' category. Periodicals such as *Publishers' Circular* and journals such as the *Academy* also listed her books as suitable Christmas presents for girls.

[62] 'Books for the Young', *Athenaeum*, 3872 (1902), 47.

trying to travel from Shanghai to Nanjing by boat.[63] Their safety is threatened by 'hordes of Tai-ping rebels' who have been 'ravag[ing] the land in search of prey' (7). When river pirates attack and their boat becomes stuck in mud, they are forced to travel to Nanjing on foot. Unfortunately, because Don is very weak and needs immediate medical attention, his anxious father decides to seek help from a medical missionary named Margaret Hayes.[64]

Prior to meeting John and Don, Margaret, who is attached to the American Medical Mission, had travelled to Kum Lu, a small town in the province of Jiangsu, to help heal Yang, the only son of Bo, the owner of a tea shop.[65] She was called because when price negotiations between Bo and a greedy Chinese doctor named Loo Choo had turned sour, Bo's customers told him about the 'woman barbarian' who could cure illnesses for a small fee. Margaret diagnoses Bo's son with pneumonia and stays the night to watch over him. The next day, Margaret thinks she witnesses the murder of her servant Ting Lang, an alleged member of the Brotherhood of Death secret society, who she supposedly sent home the previous night.

When the perplexed Margaret returns home, she is shocked to discover that Ting Lang is alive and that there are two 'foreign barbarians' (the Armstrongs) waiting for her. After examining Don, Margaret informs John that his frail son requires adequate rest. Margaret suggests that he leave Don in her care, and John reluctantly continues on his business trip with Ting Lang acting as his guide. Thus, as in *The Wolf Boy of China*, father and son are separated. To John's disappointment,

[63] Bessie Marchant, *Among Hostile Hordes: A Story of the Tai-ping Rebellion* (London: Gall and Inglis, 1901), p. 48. Further page references are given after quotations in the text.
[64] Her name sounds strikingly similar to Margaret Hale, the heroine of Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* (1855).
[65] According to the 1 December 1858 issue of the *Missionary Magazine and Chronicle*, there was a hospital at Kum-lu-fow that was abandoned due to the Taiping Rebellion. See 'China, Canton', *Missionary Magazine and Chronicle*, (1858), 267. There was an American Reformed Mission and American Board Mission but no American Medical Mission.

most of the people he meets are 'too indifferent to trouble themselves in the least about commerce, other than as they already understood it. This knowledge which they already possessed was of the simplest, and consisted in carrying a string of cash to the nearest man who possessed food of any kind or description, and satisfying their hunger by parting with their cash' (135). Along the way, they are caught and locked up by yamen-runners and would have been killed by a local mob had they not been saved by a strange red-robed man, known as the 'Nameless One', who seems to possess magic powers. He performs cosmetic surgery on Ting Lang's scar-ridden face, helping him remove all traces of his affiliation with the Brotherhood of Death. The Nameless One shows John a Bible that he had retrieved from a deceased female missionary who, before dying, gave thanks and smiled. The man concludes that the Bible must be 'a charm which helped her to die without shrinking when the torture pressed her sore' and wants John to explain the teachings in it (194). Although John has not touched a Bible for a long time, he recalls his childhood catechism lessons and attempts to preach Christianity to the Nameless One. In the process, he also rediscovers his faith.

Meanwhile, Margaret hears from her compatriot Dr. Fletcher that the leader of the Taiping Rebellion, Tien Wang, has ordered all English men, women, and children in the area to be killed within the next ten days. In order to protect Don, Margaret implores one of her previous patients, Tien Wang's chief wife Kwei-wha, to shelter him for the time being.[66] Kwei-wha agrees and they disguise Don as a Chinese boy by dying his hair black, fastening a pigtail made of the horse hair on his head, and forcing him to wear many 'gaudy' coats. In Tien Wang's house, Don overhears a plan to kill his hero General Gordon. He bravely steals the poison meant

[66] Mary Isabella Bryson mentions the 'sweet scent of the 'kwei-wha', or flower of the fragrant olive', in two of her books. See Mary Isabella Bryson, *Child Life in China* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1900), p. 36 and *Child Life in Chinese Homes* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1885), p. 26.

for Gordon and escapes to warn him of Tien Wang's scheme. When he finds Gordon and informs him of the plan against his life, Don is invited to join the Ever-Victorious Army as caterer-in-chief. Don is eventually reunited with his father after John relinquishes his job and joins the Imperialists to fight against the Taipings.

The third subplot of the novel involves Margaret, who had incited the wrath of Loo Choo when she 'stole' his patient from him.[67] Being a man who 'never forgot a wrong or forgave an injury', Loo Choo devises a plan to seek revenge but Bo intervenes and rescues Margaret. In her flight, she is aided by her faithful servant Blossom and a fellow American named Burgevine, in who Margaret loses confidence when he reveals that he has defected to the Taipings. Fortunately, John arrives to save her and soon Burgevine surrenders. Not long after, Gordon bombards Suzhou, the power of the Taipings speedily decline, and Tien Wang commits suicide, 'preferring death rather than submission' (329).[68] Margaret Hayes becomes Mrs Armstrong and the family temporarily lives in Shanghai, but plans to return to Nanjing after rioting ceases. The story concludes with a visit from Bo and the fully recovered Yang. When Bo hears that Don plans to go to Edinburgh to study medicine and come back to settle in China after obtaining his M.D., he suggests that Yang accompany Don so that he can also receive a foreign education.[69]

Considering that Marchant was a popular author who penned some 150 girl's and boy's novels and numerous magazine stories, it is surprising that few

[67] Margaret is the exact opposite of Loo Choo though both are doctors. Although doctors care supposed to put their patients first, Loo Choo is 'bent on making as large a profit as possible from his patients' (18). Loo Choo threatens Bo with the prospect of 'a pig's burial' if he allows his son to die, leaving him with 'no one to burn paper' over his grave when he dies, or to offer him worship. After making this argument, Loo Choo feels 'as sure of his money as if it were already tucked away in the roomy recess of his capacious sleeve' (20).
[68] Although British sources such as the *Saturday Review*, *Daily News* and *Birmingham Daily Post* note that Hong committed suicide, according to one critic, Hong does not commit suicide but falls ill in April 1864 and dies on 1 June that same year. See Spence, *God's Chinese Son*, p. 325.
[69] Marchant may have decided to make Donald Armstrong Scottish because Charles Gordon was Scottish.

contemporary scholars have devoted in-depth attention to her work.[70] Sally Mitchell, Cedric Cullingford, and Donald Hettinga have discussed of some of Marchant's heroines, who were known for their 'zest for adventure and gay, indomitable courage' and ability to remain 'mistress[es]of [their] fate in the face of every adversity'.[71] More recently, Michelle Smith has examined the heroines in some of Marchant's pre-First World War novels and argues that they 'display elements of the mythologized war-time nurse'.[72] She states that there is not much 'significant interaction' between the heroines and the indigenous peoples in Marchant's books, but this is not true of *Among Hostile Hordes* because Margaret interacts with Blossom, Ting Lang, Bo, Kwei-wha and other Chinese.[73] Sharon Ouditt, Michael Paris, and Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig, have discussed her heroines' experiences during the Great War, while Suzette Starmer and Judith Rowbotham have analysed their role in the expansion of Empire, but there has not been any detailed analysis to date of Marchant's historical fiction.[74]

Among Hostile Hordes is a distinctive book in Marchant's oeuvre because she was known predominantly for reigning 'supreme in tales of travel and adventure for girls'.[75] Generically, the book is difficult to define because it combines elements of

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[70] She contributed stories to magazines such as *The British Girl's Annual* and *Sunday Reading for the Young*.
[71] 'For Girls: Adventurous Heroines', *The Times*, 25 November 1941, p. 9; 'For Girls', *The Times*, 4 December 1935, p. 20. See Mitchell, *The New Girl*, pp. 116-18; 127; Cedric Cullingford, *Children's Literature and Its Effects: The Formative Years* (London: Cassell, 1998), pp. 120-22; Donald R. Hettinga, 'Bessie Marchant', in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: British Children's Writers, 1914-1960*, ed. by Donald R. Hettinga and Gary D. Schmidt (Detroit: Gale Research, 1996).
[72] Michelle Smith, 'Adventurous Girls of the British Empire: The Pre-War Novels of Bessie Marchant', *The Lion and the Unicorn*, 33 (2009), 1-25 (p. 10).
[73] Smith, 'Adventurous Girls', 10.
[74] Sharon Ouditt, *Fighting Forces, Writing Women: Identity and Ideology in the First World War* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 85; Michael Paris, *Over the Top: The Great War and Juvenile Literature in Britain* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004), pp. 122-30; Mary and Patricia Craig Cadogan, *You're a Brick, Angela: A New Look at Girls' Fiction from 1839 to 1975* (London: V. Gollancz, 1976), pp. 57-59; Suzette Starmer, 'Well I Never, It Is a Girl! Fiction and Empire', *The English Review*, 12.4 (2002), 30-33; Judith Rowbotham, *Good Girls Make Good Wives: Guidance for Girls in Victorian Fiction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), pp. 203-19.
[75] 'Christmas Books for Girls at School and on Holiday', *The Times*, 8 December 1939, p. 4.

biography, conversion narrative, and adventure story. Marchant's decision to feature an adolescent boy and two adults in *Among Hostile Hordes* results in a book that resists the traditional categories of 'boy's' and 'girl's' fiction and raises the question of whether it is an adventure story for children or a romance for adults. If we focus on the character of Don, who is characterized by the *Athenaeum* as 'a plucky little English lad', *Among Hostile Hordes* may be categorized as a boy's adventure story.[76] Don, whose 'pluck' impressed Gordon, wishes to fulfil the role of a traditional adventure story hero, wanting to 'be the first and the bravest of the lot' and picturing himself 'a hundred times in fancy dashing along that narrow passage inside the walls, charging through the torturous, winding streets, and, with his own hand, flinging wide the gate for the besieging force to enter' (220). Don's dreams of glory resemble those described in Joseph Conrad's *Lord Jim* (1900), where Jim, preoccupied with immortalizing himself through heroic acts, often sees himself

> saving people from sinking ships, cutting away masts in a hurricane, swimming through a surf with a line; or as a lonely castaway, barefooted and half naked, walking on uncovered reefs in search of shell-fish to stave off starvation. He confronted savages on tropical shores, quelled mutinies on the high seas, and in a small boat upon the ocean kept up the hearts of despairing men—always an example of devotion to duty, and as unflinching as a hero in a book.[77]

Whereas Conrad uses the genre of the adventure story to challenge and critique the overly optimistic and arrogant British attitude towards Empire, Marchant expresses the confidence in British superiority that most writers of the genre reflected in their works. For example, Don wants to teach the Chinese a lesson and vocalizes the British imperialist mentality when he speculates that the sight of Gordon would 'teach [the Chinese] how to behave civilly to his neighbours, and the world in general' (80). Don has a strong adventurous spirit and 'he would have gone anywhere and done anything for the sake of sharing the risk and the possible glory

[76] 'Books for the Young', 47.
[77] Joseph Conrad, *Lord Jim: A Tale* (London: Blackwood, 1900), p. 5.

that might follow' (232). His hopes for glory are fulfilled when he inadvertently discovers an important breach in a wall that ultimately helps Gordon's forces conquer Patachiao [Baodaiqiao]. Don is delighted that the forces are able to capture the town without bloodshed and, 'because he had borne a part in it, there was not in all the wide empire of China a happier boy that day' (234).

Although Don is in many ways the typical imperialist boy hero, one thing that makes him more 'realistic' is that he lacks the linguistic competence that other heroes of this genre typically possess. Therefore, although in appearance he may be disguised to look like a Chinese boy, he must pretend to be deaf and dumb in order to 'pass' as Chinese. He is literally 'seen and not heard' in Tien Wang's palace, serving 'as an ornament behind the seat of the heavenly king' (277). Don's silence gives him a security but also makes him depressed, fast 'breaking his spirit' (125). However, the fact that he is a child helped him enter the town where he discovered the breach in the wall because the sentinel at the town gate 'did not challenge Don, probably deeming him an object too insignificant for notice' (211).

Among Hostile Hordes could be considered an adult adventure story if one concentrates on the figure of thirty-five-year-old John Armstrong, the globe-trotting man of the empire who 'spoke Chinese like his mother-tongue' (50). Prior to travelling to China, John had been in Japan (where his wife had died) and previously served as a volunteer in India, fighting 'side by side with Sikhs and Sepoys' (93).[78] John's motive for being in China is 'purely commercial': he has been employed to travel up the Yangzi River as far as Yichang to establish as many import stations for foreign goods as he could.[79] However, his life is in jeopardy as he tries to complete

[78] John may have been in India during the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

[79] Marchant may have based her description of his job on the expedition of merchants from the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce that sailed up the Yangzi with Admiral Sir James Hope in 1861 to assess and report on the commercial possibilities of the towns along the River. See Gregory, *Great Britain and the Taipings*, p. 141. She may have also read 'Notes on the Yang-tsze-Kiang, from Han-

this hazardous task because Tien Wang wants him killed to prevent the river from being opened to foreign trade. Like Robert Fortune, the Scottish botanical collector who disguised himself as a Chinese man in order to gain access to the tea districts of China and obtain knowledge of tea plantations, John tries to fulfil his mission by wearing a native costume.[80] According to the narrator, because John 'spoke Chinese like his mother-tongue, it should have been easy for him to pass unobserved in a crowd' (50). However, it turns out that because Ting Lang was wearing fourteen coats and six shirts, people took extra notice of the pair. A man comes closer to ask John some questions, but Ting Lang, trying to 'save his master from being compelled to compromise himself on his nationality', hits the man, which infuriates the crowd, who accuse John being a child-eating barbarian spy (51). This incident suggests that having a Chinese servant was not necessarily an advantage for British travellers and that John could have perhaps travelled without being harassed had it not been for Ting Lang.

The crowd refuses to believe John's claims of being a 'peaceable individual travelling in the interests of trade' (53). Ironically, he is far from 'peaceful' when he pulls out his pistol at various points in the novel, resorting to violence or threats of violence in order to defeat the Chinese. For example, he demands Ting Lang to explain himself clearly or else he will 'blow out [his] silly brains' (72). He also punches some Chinese men's heads and makes them 'perform some involuntary kow-towing (head-knocking) in the gutter' (102). This reference to kow-towing reminds the reader of Lord Macartney's refusal to kowtow to the Qianlong Emperor during the Embassy to China in the late eighteenth century. John's ability to force

kow to Ping-shan'. See Henry Andrew Sarel, 'Notes on the Yang-Tsze-Kiang, from Han-Kow to Ping-Shan', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 32 (1862), 1-25.

[80] According to a 1864 article in the *Saturday Review*, the Taiping chiefs 'might for the time be less hostile to foreign merchants than the Imperial officials, but they were hostile to all the interests which brought foreign merchants into the country': 'China', 182.

the men to kow-tow symbolizes British power over the Chinese, who despite their arrogance will ultimately be defeated and forced to bow down to the British. The events make John feel young: 'under pressure of the excitement, John Armstrong felt himself a boy again, and showered out blows, kicks, and cuffs with as much zest and energy as ever he had displayed in a playground encounter in the years that were gone' (100). This description also presents the idea of Empire as a playground where the best sportsman or strongest athlete wins.

If we focus on Margaret Hayes, the novel could be seen as a girl's adventure story or a female missionary story. Anthony Kearney points out that from 1860 to the Second World War 'the missionary was a popular figure in children's literature, not merely in fiction, but in a stream of highly successful biographies and true-life adventures'.[81] Considering that Marchant was known for her 'deep religious fervour' (she reputedly sang a doxology every time she finished a novel), it is not surprising that the most sympathetic character in the story is the Kansas-born missionary Margaret Hayes.[82] Marchant may have amalgamated the experiences of various medical or female missionaries she had read about from missionary magazines and reports into the figure of Margaret, who could not have been in China during the Taiping Rebellion, because the first woman medical missionary to China, Dr Lucinda Combs, only arrived in 1873, a decade after the Taiping Rebellion ended.[83] According to Rowbotham, biographical missionary texts featuring the experiences

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[81] Anthony Kearney, 'The Missionary Hero in Children's Literature' *Children's Literature in Education*, 14.2 (1983), 104-12 (p. 104).
[82] Major, 'Bessie Marchant', 33.
[83] See Ann White, 'Counting the Cost of Faith: America's Early Female Missionaries', *Church History*, 57.1 (1988), 19-30 and Cristina Zaccarini, 'Improving the Lives of Women through Evangelism, Sympathy and Science: Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Women Missionary Doctors and Local Chinese Popular Belief', 2004; <http://www.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/~medicine/ashm/lectures/paper/paper10.pdf> [accessed 19 March 2009]. The first American medical missionary Dr Peter Parker (1804-1888) opened Canton Hospital in 1835 and founded the Medical Missionary Society of China in 1838.

of women missionaries were common from the 1870s onwards.[84] Considering that Marchant was listed in *Who's Who in Methodism* (1933), it is highly likely that she had read about the work that Dr Combs, who was supported by the Philadelphia Branch of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, carried out in Beijing.[85]

Having 'penetrated into many a dangerous place, where the foot of an elder woman might well have feared to tread', Margaret is an example of the 'New Woman' of the *fin-de-siècle* who embodies personal freedom, intelligence, and bravery (24).[86] Her 'wit and courage' are coupled with traditionally feminine character traits, such as a 'sympathetic womanly instinct' that is 'fully aroused' when she sees Don's suffering (246; 36). Margaret had come to China 'to do, to dare, and to suffer all things if need be, even unto death' (24). Because of the hardships she had to endure since arriving in China two years before, the twenty-five-year-old looks ten years older than her actual age.[87] Parallels can be drawn between Margaret and Joan of Arc. At an intense point in the story, when she is about to be engulfed by a 'savage mob', Margaret holds them back temporarily by shouting 'in the name of the Lord, touch me not', causing them to feel momentarily 'frightened and abashed' because 'there was something so majestic in the pose of the slight heroic figure, and such a rapt radiance shone from her eyes' (148). A 'resolute' woman living in 'a city of savages', she is prepared to be a martyr: 'ready to suffer, to endure, aye even to

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[84] Rowbotham, '"Soldiers of Christ"?', 84-85.
[85] Methodist Times and Leader, *Who's Who in Methodism 1933: An Encyclopaedia of the Personnel and Departments, Ministerial and Lay in the United Church of Methodism* (London: Methodist Times and Leader, 1933).
[86] The term 'New Woman' covered 'independent women of all kinds'. See Matthew Beaumont, '"A Little Political World of My Own": The New Woman, the New Life, and *New Amazonia*', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 35 (2007), 215-32 (p. 221). If we consider Sally Mitchell's definition of Victorian girlhood, which may have included girls up to the age of twenty-five, Margaret might be termed a 'New Girl'. See Mitchell, *The New Girl*, p. 7.
[87] Hardships include being labelled a witch: when Bo's wife Moh-lan hears Margaret muttering to herself, she thinks that Margaret is a foreign witch who repeats incantations to the evil spirits.

die if it need be [...]' (46; 248). Margaret does not die, but goes through her own personal 'baptism of fire' when she is placed in a basket and hung from the ceiling of a building which was later set on fire. Although she is a doctor, Margaret is known as 'Miss Hayes', a title Don finds confusing: 'It always puzzled Don why Dr. Fletcher, who was a minister, should be called a doctor, whilst his hostess, who was a qualified practitioner, was known merely as Miss Hayes, but he supposed that this must be the American way of doing things' (60).

Not only does Marchant use Don's thoughts to voice protestations about women's unequal status, she also uses the stories of Margaret Hayes and John Armstrong to illustrate the tension that often occurred between missionaries and merchants.[88] According to Susan Schoenbauer Thurin, in the 1890s 'only opium surpassed missionaries as a controversial subject of Western concern about China'.[89] She writes, 'the cost of supporting missionaries in relation to the number of converts to Christianity, and the misgivings of both the Chinese and Westerners about the justice of altering the beliefs of this ancient culture, all contributed to the difficulties missionaries faced in China'.[90] John, who initially harbours a 'lively and well-developed hatred' towards missionaries, represents the viewpoint of many merchants in China who believed missionary work interfered with their commercial interests (40). Marchant reflects the difficulty in sending missionaries to China during times of 'perilous portent' when Margaret laments the fact that no one could be dispatched to assist the aging Dr. Fletcher because 'civilised consecrated human life is too

[88] As Edmund S. Wehrle has noted, missionaries were often in contention with the diplomats of the Foreign Office. For detailed information regarding this tension, see Edmund S. Wehrle, *Britain, China, and the Antimissionary Riots 1891-1900* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, [1966]).
[89] Susan Schoenbauer Thurin, 'Travel Writing and the Humanitarian Impulse: Alicia Little in China', in *A Century of Travels in China: Critical Essays on Travel Writing from the 1840s to the 1940s*, ed. by Douglas Kerr and Julia Kuehn (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007), pp. 91-103 (p. 96).
[90] Thurin, 'Travel Writing', p. 96.

precious to be wantonly flung away' (146).

At various points in the novel, Marchant highlights the different outlooks that merchants and missionaries held about China. For example, when Don comments with 'an old-fashioned shrewdness that he had doubtless learned from his father' that China is 'a horrid place to live in [...] but there's money to be made out of it if you only know the right way to go to work', the narrator notes that because money-making was not 'an important factor in the life of Miss Hayes, this side of Chinese enterprise failed to appeal to her with any sort of impressive force' (83). It is clear that Miss Hayes is the more admirable one because she has chosen to devote her life to the people of China without expectation of any monetary reward. Critics have pointed out that although Marchant's heroines engage in thrilling adventures around the world, they usually get married and become housewives at the end of the book. This is not true of Margaret however, because after her marriage to John Armstrong, she still continues her work as a medical missionary. Throughout the novel she is shown as a competent self-sufficient woman and would have continued to thrive in her work even if she had not met John. In fact, it is John who has changed more in *Among Hostile Hordes*, because after his conversion and marriage to Margaret, he chooses to return to Nanjing with her so that they could 'devote themselves to the improvement of the place and the people' (331). Armstrong's story represents the 'taming' and transformation of an aggressive type of British imperialist into a God-fearing philanthropist. The conclusion signifies Marchant's hope for all merchants to become devout Christians and work together with the missionaries. She suggests that not only did the Chinese need Christianity, but merchants and traders in China needed to be Christianized as well.

In addition to helping the Chinese medically, many female missionaries wanted to assist in improving the condition of their 'sisters' abroad. Besides the

issue of foot-binding in China, which was raised earlier by Anne Bowman, another major concern was female infanticide. For example, Mrs Bryson of the London Missionary Society notes in *Child Life in China* (1900) that 'Not unfrequently [*sic*] when a little girl is born, its parents will drown it rather than have the trouble of bringing it up. Some women have destroyed as many as five or six little girls in this way'.[91] Because her husband was a minister and she was a teacher in a church-run school, Marchant would have been familiar with Mrs Bryson and read publications such as *He and She from O'er the Sea: Missionary Recitations and Hymns for Twelve Boys and Girls*, which include lines such as: 'I am a Chinese boy. How glad I am that I'm not a girl! In my country there is a proverb which says that "boy is worth ten times more than a girl"'.[92] Another character named 'Cherry Blossom' states, '[t]hey did not want me very much, but when my little baby sister came my parents would not keep her, and I never saw her again. How often and often I used to go into the Temple and ask the old god to turn me into a boy, but he never would!'[93] In *Among Hostile Hordes*, Kwei-wha has 'tiny, bound feet' (89) and an old woman 'hobbl[es]' on 'her bound, mis-shapen feet' (121). While Marchant does not explicitly protest against foot-binding in the way that Bowman did, she, like Bowman, alludes to the importance of educating Chinese women when she describes the ladies in Kwei-wha's company discussing the supposed death of Margaret with an 'air of keen relish which ignorant and ill-fed minds always display for the horrible and ghastly' (123).[94] She also highlights the inferior status of

[91] Bryson, *Child Life in China*, p. 20.
[92] J. M. B., *He and She from O'er the Sea: Missionary Recitations and Hymns for Twelve Boys and Girls* (London: London Missionary Society, [ca. 1900]), p. 2.
[93] J. M. B., *He and She from O'er the Sea*, p. 5. The *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* also conveyed similar information. See 'Babes in China', *Juvenile Missionary Magazine*, XXI 239 (1864), 91-92; 'A Peep at a Chinese Family', *Juvenile Missionary Magazine*, XXII.254 (1865), 313-20.
[94] Perhaps this is because Alicia Little had already begun her work on anti-footbinding in China. In 1899, Aunt Margery mentions in 'Chats with my Nieces' that 'Amongst other blessings which Christianity is bringing to China is the relief to the little girls from the cruel system of foot binding [...]. It is to an Englishwoman, I am proud to say, that the Chinese girls owe their emancipation. This

females in traditional Chinese society, which valued men over women. When the customers at Bo's tea shop are arguing about whether Bo should agree to Loo Choo's unreasonable fees, Su Sen urges Bo to pay 'for the sake of the boy; had it been a girl now, or even a wife, it would have been different' (20). Bo believes that his first two children were born daughters because 'fate or luck, or perhaps it was the ill-wishing of some enemy, had cursed him'. The only reason they were not killed or abandoned is because he thought 'that they might prove useful later on, in cleaning and minding the tea-hong' (144). In presenting the plight of Chinese girls to her readers, Marchant may be urging them to be thankful that they were born in Britain and that they should sympathize with their Chinese sisters. On the other hand, this information might have also caused them to reflect on their own subordinate status in British society.

Unlike Mossman, Bessie Marchant never travelled to China.[95] From the publication of her first novel *Under Clearer Skies* in 1892 to her death in 1941, she wrote prolifically from her home in Charlbury, Oxfordshire.[96] Although Marchant never left Britain, being 'a traveller only on the enchanted carpet of imagination', she has been praised for 'handling local details with care' in her numerous adventure stories set in places such as Australia, China, India, Canada, Borneo, Persia, South America, and Russia.[97] According to Alan Major, Marchant acquired knowledge about other countries by conducting research in the Bodleian Library, reading *The*

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lady was traveling in China, and her kind heart was so troubled by the sufferings of the little girls that she resolved to obtain relief for them': Aunt Margery, 'Chats with My Nieces', *The Scholars' Own: A Magazine for School & Home*, VII.75 (1899), 64-65 (p. 64).

[95] Elizabeth (Bessie) Marchant was born on 12 December 1862 in Pentham, Kent to William and Jane Marchant. Not much is known about her education, except that she attended Petham County Primary School.

[96] Major, 'Bessie Marchant', 33. After her marriage to Jabez Ambrose Comfort, she sometimes used the name Mrs J. A. Comfort, or her pseudonym John Comfort, but mostly chose to use her maiden name.

[97] Murray, 'Bessie Marchant', 569; Hester Janet Colles, 'Books for Girls: Australian Stories', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 8 December 1921, p. 127.

Geographical Magazine and gathering information from letters sent by her overseas readers.[98] Considering that between 1899 and 1940, she produced three to four novels a year, Marchant probably did not have much time to conduct in-depth research on the subject of the Taiping Rebellion, regardless of the volumes of work on the subject at her disposal in the Bodleian library. In fact, besides *Among Hostile Hordes*, a total of seven other Marchant novels were published in 1901.[99] Despite Marchant's time constraints, it is clear from the 'Notes' section at the beginning of *Among Hostile Hordes* that she researched Chinese language usages and meanings to produce a simple glossary of Chinese terms used in the book. She might have wanted to include this page to bolster the validity of her book as an educational historical novel. In addition to explaining words such as 'hong' in tea-hong (meaning 'a shop' or 'any place of business'), Marchant mentions in her 'Notes' that names ending in 'chau, chow, or chou' all denote the residence of an inferior official. She also notes that 'hien' and 'hsien' had the same meaning. Marchant probably felt the need to create this glossary after consulting different sources on the Taiping Rebellion and trying to reconcile disparate romanizations of Chinese place names. Therefore, she probably had more knowledge of Chinese than William Dalton, who used 'Kwei-chou' and 'Koei-cheou' to refer to Guizhou but did not inform readers that they denoted the same province. However, some words in the 'Notes' are defined incorrectly. For example, Marchant notes that 'Hang' means 'above' such as in 'Hangchau' and 'Su' means 'below' such as in 'Kiang su' [Jiangsu]. Although the word 'Su' could mean 'to revive' or refer to a type of Chinese basil, when used in

[98] Major, 'Bessie Marchant', 33.

[99] Anne Commire, ed., *Yesterday's Authors of Books for Children: Facts and Pictures About Authors and Illustrators of Books for Young People, from Early Times to 1960*, 2 vols (Detroit, MI: Gale, 1978), II, p. 245. While acknowledging that her novels 'are usually full of movement and vigour', one critic asserts that 'her books might have more finish if she did not send out so many': 'Books of the Day: Christmas Gifts for Girls', *The Times*, 13 December 1921, p. 13.

Jiangsu it does not mean 'below' but denotes a place.[100] The 'hang' in 'Hangzhou' does not mean 'above' but also denotes a place.[101] Despite Marchant's mistakes, the 'Notes' page is an important feature of *Among Hostile Hordes* that distinguishes it from other texts examined in this thesis.

General 'Chinese' Gordon

Because Marchant does not specify her sources, it is not clear whether she read Mossman's *The Mandarin's Daughter*, but it is likely that she consulted his edited book *General Gordon's Private Diary of His Exploits in China* (1885) because she also mentions Gordon writing in his 'private diary which he had kept so carefully all through the campaign' (275). In addition, her description of an incident 'at the little village of Chanzu' coincides with an event that happened 'some eighteen miles from Chanzu' recorded in Mossman's edited book.[102] Another possible source for her novel is *The Story of Chinese Gordon* (1884) by Alfred Egmont Hake (1849-1916), a relative of Gordon's who claimed that the general provided a positive moral example for British readers.[103] Hake's book, which was so

[100] The name for Jiangsu province is a result of combining the first word of the names of the two provincial governments, Jiangning and Suzhou, which were established in this territory in ancient times.

[101] 'Hang' could mean 'boat' but in 'Hangzhou' it denotes a place. See *Zhonghua dazidian* (Xianggang: Zhonghua shu ju, 1977), p. 227. Marchant also provides inaccurate information regarding some of the events in the Taiping Rebellion. For example, Hake mentions that Burgevine and other Europeans working for the Taipings wanted to meet and negotiate with Gordon at a bridge between the opposing lines. Marchant seems to take this bridge to be 'the fifty-three-arched bridge between Patachiao and Su-chau' where Gordon's people were waiting for Burgevine to appear (320). She seems to have confused Patachiao [Baodaiqiao], which is 'a fifty-three arched bridge, 300 yards long' with this other bridge. See Alfred Egmont Hake, *The Story of Chinese Gordon* (London: Remington, 1884), p. 104. John Armstrong informs Gordon that Burgevine would wave 'a white flag [...] from that part of the bridge where the arch is broken—the thirty-third arch' (326-27). However, this would have been impossible, because, according to one of Gordon's letters, dated 30 September 1863, 'twenty-six of the arches fell in' before Burgevine surrendered. See Hake, *The Story of Chinese Gordon*, p. 104.

[102] According to *General Gordon's Private Diary of His Exploits in China*, 'Jones and forty of his rebel companions' surrendered on 14 October 1863, and Burgevine came out three days later, on 17 October, which corresponds with Marchant's description that 'Three days had passed since Jones and his forty companions came out of Su-chau and surrendered to the commander. And now the keenest anxiety was felt concerning the fate of Burgevine, who still gave no sign': Samuel Mossman, ed., *General Gordon's Private Diary of His Exploits in China* (London: Sampson Low, 1885), p. 217; Marchant, *Among Hostile Hordes*, p. 320.

[103] Miller, 'Our Abdiel', 148. Hendrickson notes that Hake was the 'foremost biographer of and an ardent polemicist for Gordon' between 1884 and at least 1896: Kenneth E. Hendrickson, *Making*

popular that by mid-1884 it had already gone into a sixth edition, is just one of the numerous hagiographic biographies of Gordon.[104] Even more accounts of his life pervaded the market after his death in the Sudan in 1885, an event that shook the British public and led them to further romanticize and idealize Gordon as a Christian martyr and loyal soldier.[105] In 1886, the *Birmingham Daily Post* stated that 'there have been many biographical books, and books dealing with the episodes in the life of our greatest modern Knight, General Gordon' and listed nine such works.[106] Even before his death, Gordon had been compared to the most famous knight of all: King Arthur. For example, in 1884 newspaper editor W. T. Stead, observing Britain's fascination with 'this unique figure', comments that it is 'as if King Arthur had come to life again [...]'.[107]

Saints: Religion and the Public Image of the British Army, 1809-1885 (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1998), p. 131. Hake also produced *Gordon in China and the Soudan* in 1885 after Gordon's death at Khartoum, which was panned by the *Academy*'s for 'contain[ing] little that is not only too fresh in the minds of all of us'. The review notes that with one exception, they 'have not noticed anything that has not already appeared in print' and that 'it has caused us regret that he has been chosen to edit Gordon's diaries': 'The Story of General Gordon', *Academy*, 27.682 (1885), 381-82. In addition to publishing books on Gordon, Hake gave several lectures on the General and criticized the failure of the British government to rescue him. For more information on Hake, see Cristiano Camporesi, 'Hake, Alfred Egmont (1849–1916)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/75599> [accessed 8 April 2008].

[104] In Hake's book, he notes that Gordon moved from Quinsan to 'encamp at Wai-Quaidong, six miles from the East Gate of Soochow': Hake, *The Story of Chinese Gordon*, p. 114. Marchant also includes this detail, informing readers that Gordon moved his camp to Wai-qua-dong, which was 'only six miles from Su-chau': Marchant, *Among Hostile Hordes*, pp. 206-07.

[105] In 1884 the British government sent Gordon to Sudan to evacuate Egyptian forces from Khartoum, which was threatened by Sudanese rebels. He was killed on 26 January 1885, when the rebels broke into the city. News of his death surprised the British public, who immediately remembered him as a martyred warrior-saint. For more information regarding the Gordon and the Sudan, see Robert H. MacDonald, *The Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism, 1880-1918* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 83-88 and Dennis Judd, 'Gordon of Khartoum: The Making of an Imperial Martyr', *History Today*, 35.1 (1985), 19-25.

[106] 'Memorials of General Gordon', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 26 April 1886, p. 7. It named the works of Samuel Mossman, Alfred Egmont Hake, Andrew Wilson, Archibald Forbes, George Birkbeck Hill, Demetrius C. Boulger, R. H. Barnes, and Gordon's brother Henry Gordon. The *Athenaeum* condemned the 'numerous volumes' of Gordon biographies for their 'bad taste' and 'flagrant violation of Gordon's expressed wishes', commenting that 'to look at the number of books about him, one would think that Gordon had lived and died for the express purpose of letting other people make money out of him [...]'. The reviewer speculated that 'no great man was ever so unhappy in his biographers as this simple-hearted solider, who detested the bare thought of such publicity': 'Review of *General Gordon's Private Diary of His Exploits in China*', *Athenaeum*, 30.13 (1885), 106.

[107] W. T. Stead, 'Chinese Gordon', *The Century: A Popular Quarterly*, 28:4 (1884) <http://www.attackingthedevil.co.uk/steadworks/gordon.php> [accessed 19 March 2009].

Rev. W. Binns, who delivered a message on the death roll for 1885 in the Charing Cross Unitarian Church, Birkenhead, eulogized that 'Gordon's life was a poem; his memory will be an inspiration'.[108] Indeed, many poets were inspired to write panegyric verses lauding Gordon's courage, charisma, and chivalry. For example, John Stuart Blackie's 'Chinese Gordon' (1886) portrays him as a hero who 'laid the hot-brained pig-tailed rebel low' but 'sought no praise from men' and John Farrell's 'Charles Gordon' (1905) describes him as the 'man who swayed fierce pagan hordes/With kind, strong wisdom in a time of flame/When China swooned in horror without name/Of brother-hate and blindly plunging swords' but 'turned from all reward'.[109] At Gordon's funeral at St. Paul's Cathedral, the Bishop of Newcastle exalted his generosity by asking, 'Who could do what Gordon did and yet say as he did, "I know I shall leave China as poor as I entered it, but with the knowledge that through my weak instrumentality upwards of eighty to one hundred thousand lives have been spared"'.[110]

Not only was Gordon lionized in poetry, he was also idealized in children's literature. Gordon biographies for children, with titles such as *General Gordon: The Christian Solider and Hero* and *For Honour, Not Honours: Being the Story of Gordon of Khartoum* became popular Christmas books and school prizes, even until thirty years after his death.[111] For example, in 1917 in the context of a later war *General Gordon: The Christian Solider and Hero* was given as a Sunday school prize in Weston-super-Mare.[112] Teachers wanted their students to admire Gordon's

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[108] 'The Rev. W. Binns on the Death Roll of 1885', *Liverpool Mercury*, 5 January 1886, p. 7.
[109] John Stuart Blackie, 'Chinese Gordon', 1886, *Literature Online* <http://lion.chadwyck.com> [accessed 4 August 2006]; John Farrell, 'Charles Gordon', 1905, *Literature Online* <http://lion.chadwyck.com> [accessed 4 August 2006].
[110] 'Funeral Services for General Gordon', *Daily News*, 14 March 1885, n. pag.
[111] George Barnett Smith, *General Gordon: The Christian Soldier and Hero* (London: Partridge, 1898); Gordon Stables, *For Honour, Not Honours: Being the Story of Gordon of Khartoum* (London: Shaw, 1896).
[112] W. J. Reader, *At Duty's Call: A Study in Obsolete Patriotism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 50.

courage, strength, manliness, chivalry, and puritan spirit: qualities that were typical of the adventure story heroes of the time. They could read about these qualities in Jeanie Lang's *The Story of Chinese Gordon*, which claims that 'even the rebels who feared his name loved him too. They knew that he was always true and brave, honourable and merciful'.[113] Gordon was also featured in *The Roll-Call of Honour: A New Book of Golden Deeds, The Red Book of Heroes, Heroes in History, Fifty-two Stories of the British Army*, and *Recent Travel and Adventure.*[114] Another reason for Gordon's popularity among children's biographers was his charitable children's work, particularly his kindness towards poor boys at Gravesend, where the words 'God Bless the Kernel [colonel]' could reportedly be found chalked up on doors in the area.[115] Children's periodicals such as the *Boy's Own Paper*, *The Children's Friend*, *Chatterbox*, and *Young England*, all carried articles on General Gordon.[116] In 'Chinese Gordon', the *Boy's Own Paper* claims that he 'rescued the Chinese Empire from extinction [...]'.[117] The statement suggests that Chinese needed Gordon to save them from their own people, an assertion that Mossman also makes in *The Mandarin's Daughter*: 'But for his skill and perseverance, in all probability the Taiping rebellion would be still raging, and paralyzing the industry of the chief

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[113] Jeanie Lang, *The Story of General Gordon*, ed. by John Lang (London: Jack, 1900), p. 54.
[114] Arthur Thomas Quiller-Couch, 'Chinese Gordon', *The Roll-Call of Honour: A New Book of Golden Deeds* (London: Nelson, [n.d.]), pp. 272-322; Mrs Lang, 'Gordon', in *The Red Book of Heroes*, ed. by Andrew Lang (London: Longmans, Green, 1925), pp. 281-333; Mrs Laurence Binyon, 'Gordon: A Hero of Egypt', *Heroes in History* (London: Henry Frowde, [n.d.]), pp. 134-44; Alfred G. Sayers, 'The Story of General Gordon', *Fifty-Two Stories of the British Army: Stories of Battles, Histories of Regiments, Lives of Great Soldiers, and Reminiscences of Military Campaigns Chronologically Arranged*, ed. by Alfred H. Miles (London: Hutchinson, 1897), pp. 441-57; Robert Cochrane, 'General Gordon', *Recent Travel and Adventure*, new edn (London: Chambers, 1888), pp. 69-82.
[115] Lang, *The Story of General Gordon*, p. 56. His work at Gravesend is also described in Cochrane, 'General Gordon', pp. 74-75.
[116] J. L., 'General Gordon', *The Children's Friend*, LIII (1913), 2-3; 'Stories from the Lives of Famous Men No.4 (Charles Gordon)', *Chatterbox*, XXIII (1892), 179-81; 'Gordon's Generosity', *Chatterbox*, XLIX (1901), 390; 'Anecdote of Gordon', *Chatterbox*, III (1907), 22; '"Chinese Gordon": A Brief Sketch of a Wonderful Career', *The Boy's Journal*, 7 (1913), 207.
[117] 'Chinese Gordon', 487. *Young England* praises the Gordon's 'dauntless, enthusiastic spirit' and notes that he 'hated to be lionized': Horace G. Groser, 'General Gordon', *Young England*, 6 (1885), 176.

marts of China' (336).

The *Athenaeum* reviewer of *Among the Hostile Hordes* notes that Gordon, the 'ill-fated hero', is 'a conspicuous figure' in the story.[118] Gordon's presence can be felt even before he appears. Kwei-wha describes him as the 'arch-barbarian' who 'wins his victories by black magic' (67). Marchant weaves popular legends surrounding Chinese Gordon into the story. For example, because John holds a light bamboo cane in his hand, he is mistaken for Gordon, who reportedly only carried a bamboo walking cane (known as his wand of victory) instead of weapons.[119] Later in the story Gordon is seen 'armed as usual only with his small, light cane, which served him in the same fashion as a baton serves the conductor of an orchestra, which regulates as well as emphasises the tune' (282). In comparing Gordon to a conductor, Marchant creates an image of a peaceful man who makes beautiful harmonic music downplaying the messy cacophonic reality of warfare. Interestingly, Don resembles a mini-Gordon because he also has a 'wand' that helps him to achieve his goal, the silver talisman (a symbol of power) that he stole from Boo-Boo, a Buddhist monk, which he uses to make the Chinese people follow his orders.

In Don's mind, Gordon is 'the bravest man' he knows and he would gladly lay down his life for the General because 'a valuable life is always worth guarding' (162; 186). Because Gordon allowed Don to stay close to him, Don notices that the general guided 'the crowd of many nationalities that had enlisted in his army' with 'righteous thoroughness' (274). Like E. H. Burrage's multi-national crew of the

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[118] 'Books for the Young', 47.

[119] Gordon's 'wand of victory' is mentioned in many children's texts. For example an article in *Young England* states that 'He was never armed, carrying only the small cane which his troops styled 'Gordon's magic wand of victory': Groser, 'General Gordon', 176. In *Heroes in History*: 'He always went unarmed himself, with nothing in his hand but a little cane, and he would lead his troops under the hottest fire quite calmly. The Chinese thought the cane was enchanted. They called it "Gordon's magic wand of victory"': Binyon, 'Gordon: A Hero of Egypt', p. 137. An article in *Chatterbox*: 'He carried no weapon but a small cane, with which he pointed to the place his troops were to attack, and this cane was so often associated with success that his soldiers called it 'Gordon's Magic Wand of Victory': 'Stories from the Lives', 179.

Belvedere, Marchant describes the army as 'a cosmopolitan lot', composed of 'men of almost every nationality; there were Jews and Japs, Greeks, Germans, French, British, and Turks—men who fought for money, and not for country or for sovereign' (278).[120] Her patriotism and hatred of greedy mercenaries is evident when she notes that those who complained about Gordon's 'strict discipline' (such as forbidding looting) deserted him and pledged allegiance to Tien Wang, who welcomed 'the floating scum of all nationalities' (125). From these descriptions, readers can see how the 'opening' of China after the two Opium Wars had affected the country because China had become a contested space where people from all over the globe converged to make the most of the new opportunities they had. Most of these people, like the mercenaries Marchant described, were motivated by selfish desires and were willing to pledge loyalty to anyone who offered a sizeable sum of money. Therefore the China in *Among Hostile Hordes* was hostile not only because of the anti-foreign Chinese population but also dangerous because unscrupulous fickle non-Chinese fortune-seekers could switch sides without warning.

Marchant further bolsters Gordon's image as the model 'muscular Christian' when she describes Gordon advising Don, who kneels before Gordon on one knee, to 'Bend the knee to God in the future, and to Him alone' (185).[121] He is held in such high esteem that John declares that he is not 'worthy to black that brave soldier's boots' (53). In depicting Gordon as a glorious leader, Marchant adheres to the model-hero formula utilized by many writers of children's biographies. One incident that is mentioned in almost all Gordon biographies is the fact that in negotiating with the Taiping 'Wangs', Gordon promised to treat them mercifully if they surrendered.

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[120] Her description of these people is similar to Alfred Hake's, who describes them in *The Story of Chinese Gordon* as 'mercenaries, and with them all had been a mere question of money': Hake, *The Story of Chinese Gordon*, p. 94. See also Gregory, *Great Britain and the Taipings*, p. 127.
[121] Don explains to Gordon that he was in the habit of kneeling because he was forced to in Tien Wang's palace. Marchant may have included this statement because the missionaries who went to see Hong Xiuquan refused to '*kotow*'. See Teng, *The Taiping Rebellion*, p. 197.

However, Li Hongzhang went back on his word and allowed General Qing to behead them.[122] Marchant does not describe Gordon's reaction to the executions, simply stating that General Qing, with the consent of Li Hongzhang, 'quietly murdered' them even after Gordon had been assured that they would be shown mercy (329).[123] Mossman describes this affair as a 'cold-blooded act of treachery'.[124] A letter to the Editor of *The Times* in 1877 refers to this incident as one that illustrates Gordon's 'intense hatred of all lying, treachery, and deceit'.[125] In *Among Hostile Hordes*, Gordon reveals his hatred of treachery to Don, stating that 'sometimes I think they [the Chinese] must have all been born lacking a moral backbone, there is such a terrible uniformity in their treachery' (277). Not only did Gordon hate treachery and deceit, he could detect it. According to *The Times*, 'When many thought the Taepings would be the regenerators of China and the propagators of Christianity, Captain Gordon detected the imposture, and revealed their true character and ambition'.[126] Gordon is depicted not only as a great military campaigner, but a detective figure able to tear down the Taiping veil of deception. The Taipings may have been able to 'pass' as Christians for a period of time but ultimately Gordon revealed them as impostors and restores order.

After joining Gordon's army, Don observes the life of 'the noble-hearted commander' and what he sees 'waken[s] in him a keen zest of emulation' (247).

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[122] Li Hongzhang's photo could be found in *Illustrations of China and its People* (1873-4) by John Thomson (1837-1921), a former correspondent of the *Illustrated London News*. He endeavoured to create a 'visual encyclopaedia' of China in this book, comprised of photographs taken during his extensive travels in the country. Besides scenery, Thomson photographed important Chinese officials including Li Hongzhang and Prince Gong at the request of Sir Thomas Wade. John Thomson, *Illustrations of China and its People. A Series of Two Hundred Photographs, with Letterpress Descriptive of the Places and People Represented* (London: S. Low, Marston, Low, and Searle, 1873-74).

[123] For a description of this incident, see Cyril Scudamore, 'General Gordon', *English Officers of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1913), pp. 190-251 (p. 227); Archibald Forbes, *General Gordon: A Succinct Record of His Life* (London: Routledge, [n.d.]), p. 69; Quiller-Couch, 'Chinese Gordon', p. 291; Lang, *The Story of General Gordon*, p. 48.

[124] Mossman, *The Mandarin's Daughter*, p. 309.

[125] Robert K. Douglas, 'Colonel Gordon--Letter to the Editor', *The Times*, 1 January 1877, p. 8.

[126] 'General Gordon', *The Times*, 12 February 1885, p. 5.

However, despite Don's admiration for Gordon and his desire to 'do something brave', it is worth noting that Don does not aspire to be a military man like Gordon but rather a medical missionary like Margaret (307). Don wants to come back to China as a medical missionary and 'do his part in helping forward the civilisation of that vast land, whose souls can only be reached through their bodies, and who turn a deaf ear to teaching that does not carry healing in its train' (330).

Henry Burgevine and Hong Xiuquan

Not all of the Western characters in *Among Hostile Hordes* are portrayed in a positive light. In fact, Burgevine is the antithesis of Gordon. Whereas a 'feeling of professional honour will prevent any respectable Englishman or Frenchman from joining the rebels', the *Saturday Review* argues, Burgevine is an adventurer who 'fights for his own hand on behalf of the party which offers him the best prospect of personal advantage'.[127] After being dismissed from the Ever-Victorious Army, Burgevine had switched his loyalties to the Taiping forces in 1863 but a few months later re-defected and surrendered at Suzhou. He secretly joined the remnants of the Taipings in 1865 but was drowned when his boat capsized on the way to Suzhou from Fujian.[128] While Augustus Lindley, a staunch supporter of the Taipings, commented that Burgevine had a 'refined' and 'engaging' manner, most writers labelled him a 'mercenary and filibuster' or 'a self-seeking, hot-tempered American freebooter' with 'with a 'love of violence'.[129]

Burgevine does not play an important part in *The Mandarin's Daughter*, simply being mentioned in passing as the officer who 'was dismissed for disloyalty'

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[127] 'English Policy in China', *Saturday Review*, 5 December 1863, p. 714.
[128] For more information on Burgevine, see Teng, *The Taiping Rebellion*, pp. 318-21.
[129] Augustus F. Lindley, *Ti-Ping Tien-Kwoh: The History of the Ti-Ping Revolution, Including a Narrative of the Author's Personal Adventures*, 2 vols (London: Day, 1866), p. 649; Teng, *The Taiping Rebellion*, p. 320; Hake, *The Story of Chinese Gordon*, p. 96. For more information on Lindley, see J. Newsinger, 'Taiping Revolutionary: Augustus Lindley in China', *Race and Class*, 42.4 (2001), 57-72.

(287). In *Among Hostile Hordes*, however, Marchant presents a scathing picture of Burgevine, using negative adjectives, such as 'shifty' and 'untrustworthy', to describe him (303). When Margaret first meets him, she notices that his manner 'had little of sympathy or even kindness in it', there was a tone of 'bitterness' in his voice, and his laugh was 'short, mocking, and mirthless' (255). After learning that he had initially refused to assist her and only agreed to help in order to make Blossom stop following him, Margaret's dislike for him increases. Burgevine, who has 'sold his body and soul to Tien Wang', reveals his 'sinister menace' and his disregard for human life when he reports that he shot his compatriot as he 'would shoot a dog, or a beggarly Chinaman that would not do his work' (255; 268). Margaret dismisses him as a coward as she sees his face turn to 'a ghastly pallor' when he sees the dead Blossom, prompting her to say, 'You are a soldier, and must have seen death in many forms; how was I to know that you would be afraid?' (286). She grows to dislike and fear the man so much that 'she would prefer to run the gauntlet of every Taiping fanatic in the town, even including Loo Choo in the number, than to be compelled again to avail herself of his unwilling protection' (289). Through the negative portrayal of Burgevine, Marchant is not only able to exalt Gordon to greater heights but also to demonstrate that one's nationality is no guarantee of noble behaviour. Despite being a fellow American like Margaret, Burgevine was reluctant to help her. On the other hand, John, the British man, was willing to risk his life to save her.

Another key figure in the Taiping Rebellion was Hong Xiuquan, known as Tien Wang in both novels. Hong Xiuquan does not make an appearance in *The Mandarin's Daughter* despite many references to him in the novel. Readers are informed that Hong was 'one of the most blasphemous impostors the world has ever seen' (239). Meng-kee is forced to kneel with his face to the Tien Wang's empty seat

and pray to him, which made him feel 'an air of sham dignity about the whole affair' (240). It is not clear how much Marchant knew about Hong Xiuquan and his connection with Christianity. Margaret laments that Tien Wang had converted to Christianity many years ago, but has 'grown old, blood-thirsty, and cruel' (81).[130] Don speculates that 'he knew only enough of Christianity to make a hash of it, the same as a good many more enlightened folks do' (82). Having 'long ago forsworn all that he had ever professed and believed concerning the Christian religion', Tien Wang orders his 'soothsayers and magicians' to advise him 'on the best way of defeating the so-called black magic of Gordon' (125;127).

In the novel, Tien Wang explains that his initial edict to kill the English but not the Americans stems from the fact that he has 'softened to the Americans because of the former years' (91). At a later point in the story, he recalls that when he was a young man, 'the missionary had told him of evil spirits being cast out of people by a wonderful Man who had come down from heaven to live on earth for a while' (125). This suggests Marchant's awareness of Hong's relationship with Issachar Roberts, the American missionary who met with Hong in 1847 and was later offered the role of 'Director of Foreign Affairs' for the Taipings in 1861. Roberts denied the title, choosing to stay in Nanjing to promote his faith but sometimes served as interpreter for the Taipings. He persuaded the Taipings to allow missionaries access to territories under their control and obtained permission to build eighteen chapels in Nanjing. However, they were never established and Roberts left the city in 1862 after falling out with some Taiping leaders. Later, he wrote in the *North China Herald* that he believed Tien Wang to be 'a crazy man, entirely unfit to rule without any organized government' who had a 'violent' temper and opposed commerce,

[130] John Morrison writes in the *Boy's Own Paper* that Hong's 'so-called conversion to Christianity showed itself in ruthless rapine and slaughter': Morrison, 'A Trip up the Yang-Tze Kiang', 27.

murdering whose who were caught trading in the city.[131] Marchant may have read Roberts's description of Tien Wang or the works of Josiah Cox, who reported that he had an 'imperious and cruel temper' and reigned like a 'despot' 'without respect to law, or the liberty of the individual'.[132]

Although Tien Wang is 'a dreadful man; a perfect ogre', he is not physically terrifying in the novel, being 'a man of average height, rapidly ageing now, as was evidenced by the haggard lines of care in his parchment-like face and the weary droop of his bowed shoulders' (81; 88). This coincides with Roberts's 1853 description of him as 'a man of ordinary appearance, about five feet four or five inches high'.[133] However, it contradicts information provided by J. Callery and M. Yvan, who note that he is 'a man of tall stature', and Andrew Wilson, former editor of the *China Mail*, who asserts that Tien Wang 'is known to having been of large stature, with a flowing black beard, bright eyes…'[134] Regardless of his physical stature, Tien Wang does not appear to frighten Don, who thinks that he sounds like an 'old toothless dog trying to gnaw a bone' even when he declares his power, claiming that 'blood flowed in rivers though the streets when I willed it so' (91). The leader of the Taipings lacks awareness of personal hygiene: 'Tien Wang never washed himself nor yet gave the slightest attention to his toilet' (126). In including this detail about Tien Wang, Marchant reflects the Victorian obsession with the 'cult of cleanliness', which could be observed from nineteenth-century advertisements for

[131] Clarke and Gregory, eds., *Western Reports on the Taiping*, p. 314. The *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* called him a 'fanatical schoolmaster': 'Career of General Gordon', 8. For more information on Roberts and his relationship with the Taiping Rebellion, see Yuan Chung Teng, 'Reverend Issachar Jacox Roberts and the Taiping Rebellion', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 23.1 (1963), 55-67 and Teng, *The Taiping Rebellion*, pp. 196-202.
[132] Clarke and Gregory, eds., *Western Reports on the Taiping*, p. 312.
[133] Clarke and Gregory, eds., *Western Reports on the Taiping*, p. 19.
[134] J. M. Callery and Melchior Yvan, *History of the Insurrection in China, with Notices of the Christianity, Creed and Proclamations of the Insurgents*, trans. by John Oxenford (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1853), p. 188; Wilson, *The 'Ever-Victorious Army'*, p. 41.

Pears' soap.[135] As this cult swept through England, sanitation and personal hygiene 'became hallmarks of a civilized society'.[136] Societies that did not prioritize the importance of cleanliness were seen as inferior, which China clearly was in the eyes of Marchant.

Marchant's Charles Gordon, Henry Burgevine, and Tien Wang are essentially two-dimensional characters who function as examples illustrating the difference between good and evil, civilized and savage, honourable and treacherous. However, unlike other adventure stories that emphasize the binary of East vs. West, the villainous figure of the American Burgevine reveals that simplistic notions of East equals 'bad' while West equals 'good' must be complicated. In addition, Burgevine's defection can be seen as representing America's emerging threat to Britain in the Imperial arena, especially during the period when the book was written. British readers are reminded to be wary of the Americans in case they turn out to be devious characters like Burgevine. Despite fictionalizing important figures of the Taiping Rebellion into the story and interweaving key events of the Rebellion with the fictional plotline involving Don, John, and Margaret, Marchant's description of the anti-foreign atmosphere in *Among Hostile Hordes* suggests that although she set the story in her recent past, she was reflecting the anxiety brought about by events of her present, namely, the Boxer Uprising (1899-1901). This movement, which was raging in Northern China around the time Marchant was writing *Among Hostile Hordes*,

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[135] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 207-31.

[136] Susan Schoenbauer Thurin, *Victorian Travelers and the Opening of China, 1842-1907* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1999), p. 190. Elsewhere in *Among Hostile Hordes*, Marchant highlights the dirtiness of Chinese buildings and clothes. For example, although natives regard Kwei-wha's house as 'absolutely palatial', foreigners such as Margaret Hayes feel 'that it lacked a good deal in the matters of cleanliness and comfort', especially the courtyard, which is 'very dirty and untidy' (64). The traveller's lodge that John and Ting Lang stay at is 'unspeakably filthy, and reeked with opium fumes' (98). Almost all the Chinese people in the story wear dirty clothes. John meets two 'dirty fellows' on page 55 and sees Ting Lang seated with 'with a man in a very dirty, very ragged blue cotton coat' on page 136.

aimed to eradicate all foreigners from the country. As a minister's wife, Marchant would have received many Sunday School leaflets, such as those by Mrs Bryson, who, in *Some Chinese Waifs*, a Sunday School leaflet, writes that during the Boxer Uprising, a Chinese girl named Ping-an survived this 'time of terror' and 'became quite accustomed to the shriek of the shells as they flew through the air in the constantly bombarded foreign settlement [...]'.[137] Although the subtitle of Marchant's book is 'A Story of the Tai-ping Rebellion', there are several indications that *Among Hostile Hordes* is more of a Boxer narrative than a Taiping story, an issue I now go on to address.

Among Hostile Hordes as a Boxer Narrative

The late Qing dynasty was marked by another major uprising at the end of the nineteenth century: the Boxer Uprising. The Yihequan ('Righteous and Harmonious Fists') was a group known as the 'Boxers' because in the eyes of foreigners, their strengthening exercises and martial arts practices (*quan*) resembled shadow boxing.[138] The initial purpose of this anti-Qing society was to restore the Ming dynasty. However, in the 1890s, they turned into an anti-foreign group. By 1899 the Boxers were openly attacking and killing foreigners and Chinese Christians in Northern China. In early October 1899, foreign newspapers began to circulate notices regarding the Boxers and by mid-December, it was reported that the movement was 'spreading like wild-fire'.[139] According to Paul Cohen, evidence from various sources, including diaries, gazettes, and official memorials, suggest that the Boxer movement spread and intensified because of a severe drought that showed no signs of ending.[140] Widely distributed in early 1900, Boxer notices

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[137] Mary Isabella Bryson, *Some Chinese Waifs*, 2nd edn (London: London Missionary Society, 1902), p. 7.

[138] For more information on types of Chinese 'boxing', see Paul A. Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 16-17.

[139] Cohen, *History in Three Keys*, p. 44.

[140] Cohen, *History in Three Keys*, p. 77.

blamed the drought in North China on the presence of foreigners, especially Christians. The notices proclaimed that rain would not fall until all foreigners met their death and their influence had been extinguished. In June 1900, the Qing government showed their support for the Boxers by giving them a semi-official title, the Yihetuan ('Righteous and Harmonious Militia'). The foreign Legations at Peking were besieged from late-June to mid-August 1900 and British newspapers were emblazoned with headlines such as 'The Crisis in China'. The trapped residents of the Legations were freed by an international troop on 14 August 1900 and the uprising soon subsided.[141]

The Boxer Uprising and other recent events in Chinese history were 'all firmly fixed in the British popular imagination' during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century.[142] In all aspects of British popular culture (children's literature, thrillers, plays, romances), China and the Chinese were noticeably present. On stage, American magician William Robinson, performing as 'Chung Ling Soo', attracted huge audiences with his bullet-catching trick called 'Condemned to Death by the Boxers'.[143] Boxer events were also scripted into films such as *Attempted Capture of an English Nursery and Child by Boxers* (1901) and *Assassination of an English Citizen by Boxers* (1901) and *Attack on a China Mission—Bluejackets to the Rescue* (1900).[144] Films such as these influenced children's perceptions of the Chinese, as

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[141] For more information on the Boxer Rebellion see Cohen, *History in Three Keys*. More discussion about the Boxers will be given in the next chapter.

[142] Robert A. Bickers, *Britain in China: Community Culture and Colonialism, 1900-1949* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 23.

[143] Jim Steinmeyer, *The Glorious Deception: The Double Life of William Robinson, a.k.a. Chung Ling Soo, The "Marvelous Chinese Conjuror"* (New York: Carroll and Graf, 2005). In 1905, *Chums* introduced young readers to the Tschan-Maa troupe from Manchuria, one of whom was 'a celebrated Boxer of surpassing courage, who has killed more than two dozen Germans singled-handed'. They would perform knife-throwing and conjuring tricks in England before going to America. 'Some Wonderful Men from the East: Feats That Will Astonish You', *Chums*, XIII (1905), 524-25 (p. 524).

[144] For a discussion of the first two films, see James Louis Hevia, *English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 305. *Attack on a China Mission* is a film about a British Christian family being rescued from the Boxers that Frank Gray characterizes as 'a mythic and moral distillation, predicated on an understanding of history that

Harold Hodgkin, a missionary administrator, noted in 1925, relating an incident where the son of a friend claimed to know 'all about Chinamen; they were cruel, wicked people; he had seen lots of them at the pictures'.[145]

Written in during a time when the Boxers dominated headlines, *Among Hostile Hordes* is a product of this historical moment for several reasons. First, Marchant's descriptions of anti-foreign antagonism, chaos, madness, and hysteria are more often associated with the Boxers and not the Taipings, because according to Cohen, the Taiping Rebellion was generally not regarded as threatening to the British residents in China.[146] When fierce riots erupt in Kum Lu, Loo Choo is very pleased and declares that 'these outbursts of lawlessness were the best things which could happen to a place, since they *purged it of the hated foreign element*, and gave honest men like himself plenty of work to do' (109, my emphasis). Loo Choo's anti-foreignism was characteristic of the Boxers' attitude, because they were particularly hostile towards foreign missionaries. Therefore, in writing that John holds missionaries 'responsible for every outbreak of barbarian lawlessness and fiendish violence' (54), Marchant was probably alluding to the Boxer Uprising and not the Taiping Rebellion because although the Taipings were not very welcoming of the foreigners, their main goal was not to exterminate them, unlike the Boxers, who brandished flags emblazoned with the slogan 'Fu [or Zhu]-Qing mieyang' (Support [or Help] the Qing, destroy the foreign [or foreigner])'.[147]

In 'Faced by Chinese Rebels: and the Ruse that Outwitted Them' (1900), a Boxer story which appeared in the popular boy's magazine *Chums* (1892-1932), the Boxers are characterized as a 'howling mob', 'armed with knives, bludgeons, and

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resembles Todorov's master narrative model': Frank Gray, 'James Williamson's "Composed Picture": Attack on a China Mission—Bluejackets to the Rescue (1900)', in *Celebrating 1895: The Centenary of Cinema*, ed. by John Fullerton (London: Libbey, 1998), pp. 203-11 (p. 207).

[145] Quoted in Bickers, *Britain in China*, p. 23.

[146] Cohen, *History in Three Keys*, p. 15.

[147] Cohen, *History in Three Keys*, p. 25.

iron-tipped bamboos'.[148] According to Ross G. Forman, authors borrowed the 'late-Victorian terminology of the mob' previously associated with Britain's urban working classes to describe the Chinese during the Boxer Rebellion.[149] The 'Hordes' of Marchant's title was also frequently used to describe the Boxers. In addition to 'hordes', the word 'mob' repeatedly appears in Marchant's text. For example, although John Armstrong manages to keep a 'frantic, howling mob at bay' on a boat, he is again confronted with an 'enraged mob' at the yamen (54; 104). Similarly, Margaret finds herself at the mercy of 'one of the most savage mobs the wide world would show', and is later shut up in 'a wild-beast cage of raving fanatics' (147; 303). The Boxers were frequently depicted as fanatics, and Marchant describes a young man killed by 'a wholly mad fanatic' (114).[150] The Nameless One's description of a female missionary being killed by a mob would have probably reminded readers of the many missionaries who were killed in the Taiyuan massacres in Shanxi.[151] Elsewhere, the Government is blamed for failing to 'protect its adherents from the frenzy of a mob, maddened by hardship and starvation' (109). Inside Bo's tea shop, the 'howls of the mob' could be heard over the arguments taking place inside and he eventually loses customers 'put to flight by the mob which lusted for slaughter' (112). The juxtaposition of a small British army against hordes of Chinese is an image frequently employed by authors of Boxer narratives. Similarly, Marchant writes, 'in point of numbers, the handful of English, with the regiments of native soldiers, were but as nothing in comparison with the hordes of the rebel army, who,

[148] 'Faced by Chinese Rebels: And the Ruse that Outwitted Them', *Chums*, VIII.413 (1900), 814.
[149] Ross G. Forman, 'Peking Plots: Fictionalizing the Boxer Rebellion of 1900', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 27.1 (1999), 19-48 (p. 27).
[150] Boxer fanaticism will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.
[151] The Taiyuan massacres will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. The Nameless One is described as a 'red robed stranger' who 'repeats incantations to the skies': Marchant, *Among Hostile Hordes*, p. 171. The Boxers were known for wearing red and chanting incantations. The Nameless One may have been based on Zhu Hongdeng (Red Lantern Zhu), who was a Boxer leader who provided free medical treatment, specializing in skin ulcers. See Cohen, *History in Three Keys*, p. 30.

[...] were like the locusts for multitude' (205). The implications of the use of 'hordes' and 'mob' will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter which considers other Boxer narratives for children.

An atmosphere of anxiety and fears of death pervade the novel. Margaret laments that all she wants is for the 'fearful lust of slaughter' to cease but the people seem 'to have no thought, and no ambition beyond killing each other' (82-83). As the situation worsens, she frequently hears 'the terrible shouting of "kill! kill!"' (290). Cries of 'kill! kill!' were frequently mentioned in Boxer narratives, such as in *The World's Navies in the Boxer Rebellion (China 1900)*, where the Boxers frequently yelled '"Tow-ah!" "Tow-ah!" (Kill! Kill!)'.[152] The danger of imminent death is most obvious in the scene where Margaret and Blossom attempt to escape to Suzhou by hiding in two coffins (see Figure 9). In describing their flight by coffin, Marchant may have been inspired by the story of Rev. Father Stephanus Sette, who managed to evade the Boxers in Hunan because his Chinese Christian friends carried him in a box resembling a coffin. During the seven-day journey, whenever his friends were stopped and questioned about the box, they managed to continue on because of the Chinese reverence for the dead.[153]

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[152] Charles Cabry Dix, *The World's Navies in the Boxer Rebellion (China 1900)* (London: Digby, Long, 1905), p. 75.

[153] Zephaniah Charles Beals, *China and the Boxers: A Short History on the Boxer Outbreak, with Two Chapters on the Sufferings of Missionaries and a Closing One on the Outlook* (Toronto: Briggs, 1901), p. 120.

Figure 9. 'Say that a fellow country-woman needs his help'

"Say that a fellow country-woman needs his help."—page 251.

Secondly, although Marchant tries to educate her child readers about some possible reasons for the rebellion by explaining that 'These poor wretches had been taught to believe that foreigners brought bad harvests, blighted the corn, ruined the rice crops, and generally worked havoc and destruction in the land, so it was little wonder that they rose in their misery, and smote the common enemy hip and thigh', the reasons that she provides have been mostly attributed to the cause of the Boxer Uprising and not the Taiping Rebellion (112-13).[154] For example, in 1900, the *Review of Reviews* quotes Rev. Roland Allen of the Church of England Mission in Peking who cites 'the force of hunger' caused by the drought in North China as one of the causes which led to the siege of the Peking Legations, claiming that 'the people attributed the calamity to the anger of Heaven caused either by the Empress'

[154] This description also echoes depictions of the Irish Famine.

highhanded action or by the presence of foreigners'.[155] In addition to textual messages, Boxers composed simple jingles such as '*Shale yangguitou, Mengyu wang xia liu*' (When foreign devils have been killed, A heavy rain will fall); and '*Yangren shajin, Yu yu huan yu, Yu qing jiao qing*' (When the foreigners have all been killed off, Rain will come when we call for rain, And it will be clear when we want it to be clear) that were effective in spreading their message.[156]

Third, Ting Lang's story resembles those of the starving residents of Shandong who joined the Boxers because of hunger or anxiety of anticipated hunger.[157] Although severe drought and famine from 1848 to 1850 also induced impoverished residents in the southern provinces to join secret societies such as the Triads in the hope of being fed by wealthier members such as inn and restaurant managers, Ting Lang explains that he joined the Brotherhood of Death out of necessity when he was starving in Northern China.[158] Marchant does not specify which province Ting Lang is from, but it is possible he is from northwestern Shandong, a poverty-stricken place particularly susceptible to flooding, where many Boxers originated. Ting Lang explains that members of the Brotherhood

> sell themselves to the rich ones, and for the price that is paid they join themselves in the Brotherhood of Death, receiving so many of cash for every scar that is written on face and brow. But we are sold for death, and all the appointed ones may for to kily [*sic*] us when they meet us anywhere. (74)

His 'hideous' and 'terrifying' face makes him an easily recognizable target for the appointed killers (74). The extent of his repulsiveness is evident in the following assertion: 'his native land could not produce another man so ugly as himself' (48). Incidents involving facial scaring or marking were reported during both the Taiping

[155] The Best Authority in the World, 'What Should be Done in China', *Review of Reviews*, (1900), 447-49 (p. 448).
[156] Cohen, *History in Three Keys*, p. 85.
[157] See Cohen, *History in Three Keys*, pp. 30-35.
[158] Teng, *The Taiping Rebellion*, p. 60.

and Boxer Rebellions. Taiping generals who caught villagers trying to escape from fighting would tattoo the four characters 'Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace' on their faces as a warning not to stray again.[159] Mossman mentions this practice in *The Mandarin's Daughter*: 'A great many of these men appeared to have been lately pressed into the service, and as a precaution against desertion they had the Chinese character for the Taiping dynasty tattooed on their cheeks' (279). During the Boxer Uprising, some Christians had crosses cut on their forehead by a sword.[160] In envisioning the events of the Taiping Rebellion through the lens of the Boxer Uprising, Marchant creates a historical novel that reflects the imperial anxieties of the *fin-de-siècle*. In initially depicting John Armstrong as a spiritually weak man who had lost his faith, Marchant was mirroring post-Boer War (1899-1902) anxiety about the vulnerability of British imperialism and the fear that Englishmen were becoming degenerate both physically and spiritually.[161] *Among Hostile Hordes* suggests that in order to maintain order in imperial outposts such as China which had become increasingly antagonistic to foreign presence, men needed to be transformed as John Armstrong was. At the same time, there was anxiety about the distortion of Christian knowledge by the Chinese, which did not exist in Bowman's *Travels of Rolando* or Dalton's *The Wolf Boy of China* where the key Chinese characters are 'good' Christians.

Conclusion

In 1887, noted Victorian novelist and critic Charlotte Yonge pointed out the importance of 'Historical Tales' in *What Books to Lend and What to Give*, noting that they were suitable for both girls and boys and extolling their 'considerable

[159] Spence, *God's Chinese Son*, p. 304.
[160] Cohen, *History in Three Keys*, p. 177.
[161] Maria Davidis, '"Unarm, Eros!": Adventure, Homoeroticism, and Divine Order in *Prester John*', in *Imperial Desire: Dissident Sexualities and Colonial Literature*, ed. by Philip Holden and Richard R. Ruppel (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), pp. 223-40 (p. 223).

value' in terms of conveying facts and 'serving as "sugared history"'.[162] However, as this chapter has demonstrated, historical tales about the Taiping Rebellion are not 'sugared history' but terrible stories of turmoil, chaos, and destruction which cannot be romanticized. The Taiping Rebellion narratives by Mossman, Marchant and *BOP* authors reveal that from the 1870s onwards, it was no longer possible to hold onto the romanticized view of China that was presented in Dalton and Bowman's books. The beautiful Chinese landscape presented on willow pattern plates disappeared after the Taiping rebels ravaged through it. After the publication of *Among Hostile Hordes* in 1901, it was also impossible to imagine Empire as a relatively safe playground for boys to frolic in as Burrage's characters did in the Ching-Ching series. The Taiping Rebellion reaffirmed British stereotypes of the Qing government as incompetent and helpless and the Chinese as inhumane and uncivilized people who committed atrocious acts of violence against their fellow countrymen. In Marchant's words, the result of Taiping violence was the 'daily spectacle of hopeless, helpless misery, the scores of impotent sufferers, who perished of starvation in the ditches all around, or fought desperately with each other for a share of some lean dog, who had succumbed to the same death of starvation which menaced themselves' (206).

The China of the Taiping era is presented as a horrific place where nightmarish scenes are constantly waiting to confront the reader. For example, the narrator of 'A Ticklish Trip in a Chinese House-Boat' describes the drastic measures the Governor of Shanghai resorted to in an attempt to strike 'terror into the hearts of the Taipings': he ordered 'bunches of human heads to be hung up in all conspicuous places' to

[162] Charlotte Yonge, *What Books to Lend and What to Give* (London: National Society's Depository, 1887), p. 55. Mitchell argues that Yonge utilizes the historical fiction of Sir Walter Scott in her novel *Chantry House*. See Rosemary Mitchell, 'Charlotte M. Yonge: Reading, Writing, and Recycling Historical Fiction in the Nineteenth Century', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 31.1 (2009), 31-43.

serve as a warning to the rebels.[163] Marchant also refers to this practice when Ting Lang sees a dark object swaying high above a town gate and is afraid that that his head would be chopped off and placed inside the basket. Although Ting Lang manages to escape from this type of punishment, the guide who lured John and Ting Lang into the town is not. He is executed by a mandarin because he brought strangers into the place and his head 'was hung in a bamboo basket outside the gate of the town' (197). Similarly, Burgevine confirms that he is also in danger of having his head 'hung out to adorn the town gate' (289). These descriptions would have reminded readers of the public executions at the Tower of London of previous centuries, where the accused were beheaded and sometimes also had their heads displayed as a warning to others. Earlier in the novel, Marchant had referred to England's previous public executions when commenting on Ting Lang's association with the Brotherhood of Death. She writes, 'the cruelty of gladiatorial combats, the bull-baiting in which our forefathers took such savage delight, the public executions, and all the other manifestations of human lust for blood which ante-dated our modern civilization, paled and waned to absolute insignificance' when compared to the atrocities of the Brotherhood of Death (75). Although she mentions that public executions 'ante-dated our modern civilization', in reality, 'male traitors' in England 'had their heads hacked off and held up to the crowd' as late as 1820 and the public executions were only abolished in 1868, less than fifty years before Marchant's time of writing.[164] Thus, although China is portrayed as using outdated torturous methods

[163] 'A Ticklish Trip', 488.

[164] V. A.C. Gatrell, *The Hanging Tree: Execution and the English People 1770-1868* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 7. Newspapers such as the *Illustrated Police News*, *Leeds Mercury*, and *Reynolds's Newspaper* all reported on the last public execution of Michael Barrett at Newgate in May 1868. See 'Execution of the Fenian Michael Barrett', *Illustrated Police News*, 30 May 1868, p. 2; 'Execution of the Fenian Barrett', *Leeds Mercury*, 30 May 1868, p. 12; 'The Execution of the Fenian Convict, Barrett', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 31 May 1868, p. 7. Although Marchant remarks that these cruel activities and events were 'ante-dated', in reality, some were still popular past-times in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. For example, bull-baiting, a popular blood-sport since the thirteenth century, which drew in vast crowds at fetes, wakes, and fairs, was only banned in 1835.

of administering justice, the situation in nineteenth-century England was not as different as Marchant would have readers believe.

As John Stephens has observed, historical fiction has 'always performed a moral, and even didactic, function'.[165] Marchant was aware of the moral and didactic aspect of her novels: in 1931 she wrote to one of her readers that it is 'most thrilling' to 'talk to girls all round the world' and to 'influence them'.[166] Although by 1901 there was much more information about China available to Marchant compared to the number of resources available to Dalton, Marchant presents a much more monolithic view of the Chinese compared to Dalton, ultimately promoting the stereotypes of the Chinese as cruel, greedy, dirty, and superstitious in *Among Hostile Hordes*. In her attempt to highlight the cultural inferiority of the Chinese, she emphasizes that Ting Lang's story of Chinese cruelty and the practice of beheading was far removed from contemporary 'civilization', ignoring the fact that horrible forms of punishment and torture were being executed in European colonies around the world.[167] Therefore, although knowledge about China and the Chinese had increased dramatically by the early-twentieth century, authors did not necessarily pass on any new information to their young readers. Because Sino-British relations had soured toward the end of the century due to conflicting views surrounding railway rights and the building of telegraphs, British authors writing from the 1890s onwards probably had a more negative image of China and the Chinese entrenched

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Other blood-sports such as bull-running, badger-baiting, bear-baiting, cock-fighting, and dog-fighting were equally accepted as part of English life until the mid-nineteenth century. Even after the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act was passed in 1849, some of the activities were still conducted in private. See Jacqueline Simpson and Steve Roud, 'Blood Sports', *A Dictionary of English Folklore*, Oxford Reference Online, Oxford University Press, 2000; online edn, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t71.e87> [accessed 22 April 2008].

[165] Stephens, *Language and Ideology*, p. 238.

[166] Quoted in Major, 'Bessie Marchant', 33.

[167] Timothy Brook, Jerome Bourgon and Gregory Blue, *Death by a Thousand Cuts* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), p. 27.

in their minds.[168] For historical fiction writers, the events of the Taiping Rebellion provided a perfect backdrop to highlight the worst aspects of the Chinese character while giving them the opportunity to extol the admirable qualities of the British as exemplified in General Gordon, the model Christian soldier hero who was the paragon of manliness.

Interest in the Taiping Rebellion has not subsided since Marchant researched the event for her novel in the early twentieth century.[169] For example, in the 1980s, George MacDonald Fraser also used the Taiping Rebellion as the setting of one of his Flashman books: *Flashman and the Dragon* (1985).[170] Two children's historical novels set in the Taiping Rebellion were also published in the 1980s: Katherine Paterson's *Rebels of the Heavenly Kingdom* (1983) and Laurence Yep's *The Serpent's Children* (1984), which both explore impact of the Taiping Rebellion from the perspective of Chinese children.[171] Paterson's book deals with the disillusionment of her young protagonists toward the Heavenly Kingdom after they witness firsthand the practices of the Taipings while Yep's novel depicts the suffering among villagers during this period of instability. The next chapter will examine how another period of political instability in China, the Boxer Uprising (1899-1901), was presented for children in the early twentieth century and the genre of historical fiction will also be discussed in further detail there.

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[168] Ralph William Huenemann, *The Dragon and the Iron Horse: The Economics of Railroads in China, 1876-1937* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 3.
[169] In 1904, Charles Halcombe included a lesson about the Taipings in his novel *Children of Far Cathay*. See Charles J. H. Halcombe, *Children of Far Cathay: A Social and Political Novel* (London: Hongkong Daily Press Office, 1906), pp. 60-69. For more information on Halcombe and his novels, see C. Mary Turnbull, 'Hong Kong: Fragrant Harbour, City of Sin and Death', in *Asia in Western Fiction*, ed. by Robin W. Winks and James R. Rush (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 118-19.
[170] George MacDonald Fraser, *Flashman and the Dragon* (Glasgow: William Collins Sons, 1985).
[171] Katherine Paterson, *Rebels of the Heavenly Kingdom* (New York: Dutton, 1983). Laurence Yep, *The Serpent's Children* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984).

Chapter Five

China against the Allies: Interpreting the Boxer Uprising (1899-1901)

> There is not a single passage in this volume that could not have been culled from the newspapers, or, at best, a not very illuminating book of travels. Atmosphere, in the true sense of the word, there is none. Of course it is possible that Mr. Graydon is familiar with China and the Chinese; but, if this is the case, he has been at pains to conceal any intimate knowledge of which he is possessed.
>
> —Review of *The Perils of Pekin* in *The Captain* (1905)[1]

W. M. Graydon's *The Perils of Pekin* (1904), which relates the adventures of two American boys during the Boxer Uprising (1899-1901), was one of the works that contributed to 'The Flood of Books about China' that the *North China Herald* reported on in 1904.[2] In the article, 'the Boxer business of 1900 onwards' was cited as one of the events that sparked a 'steady stream of booklets, volumes, and tomes in sets, running to a frightful aggregate'.[3] As outlined in the previous chapter, reviewers of children's novels on China from the 1870s onwards were looking for more than a book filled with 'facts' on Chinese customs and manners; they hoped to find new knowledge on China interweaved into an interesting and readable story. Authors such as Graydon were expected to blend fact and fiction seamlessly into their novels instead of leaving glaring passages that are obviously culled from newspapers or a 'not very illuminating book of travels'. As *The Captain* reviewer of *The Perils of Pekin* complained, although the author attempted to give the book

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[1] 'The Perils of Pekin', *The Captain*, XII.70 (1905), 340. According to Robert H. MacDonald, *The Captain* was targeted at an upper middle class audience. For more information, see Robert H. MacDonald, 'Reproducing the Middle-Class Boy: From Purity to Patriotism in the Boys' Magazines, 1892-1913', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 24 (1985), 519-39.

[2] William Murray Graydon (1864-1946) was born in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania and worked as a banker before becoming a writer. He moved to England in 1898 and wrote over 100 Sexton Blake stories. See W. O. G. Lofts and D. J. Adley, *The Men Behind Boy's Fiction* (London: Baker, 1970), p. 160.

[3] 'The Flood of Books about China', *North China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette*, 29 July 1904, p. 234.

'local colour' by using stock phrases such as 'native Christians', 'impending massacre of Europeans', 'foreign devils', 'legation soldiers', and 'the allies', the story was 'far from interesting'.[4] The reviewer speculated that Graydon decided to write a book for boys and set it in China even though he did not know much about the place, thinking that his readers would know even less. The review reveals that authors who wanted to write about China could no longer assume that readers lacked knowledge of the country, for it was not the 'little-known Celestial Kingdom' that Dalton introduced to readers in the mid-nineteenth century. Therefore, authors were required to have an 'intimate knowledge' of China if they wished to produce a quality book.

The phrases 'native Christians', 'impending massacre of Europeans', 'foreign devils', 'legation soldiers', and 'the allies' that appear in Graydon's novel were frequently used in books that focused on the Boxer Uprising. These can be divided into three major categories. First, there were narratives about 'legation soldiers' and 'the allies' during the Siege of the Peking Legations, which lasted for fifty-five days from late-June to mid-August 1900. British, Japanese, German, Italian, French, American, Russian, Belgian, Austrian, and other residents were trapped inside the walls of the Legations until they were relieved by an international force known as the 'Allies' on 14 August 1900. Books belonging to this category include *Diary of the Siege of the Peking Legations, June to August, 1900* (1900), *St. George and the Chinese Dragon* (1902), *The Story of the Siege in Peking* (1901), and *Behind the Scenes in Peking* (1910).[5] Secondly, there were missionary survivor stories of the Shanxi massacres and tales of 'native Christian' martyrdom such as *Martyred*

[4] 'The Perils of Pekin', 340.

[5] W. M. Hewlett, *Diary of the Siege of the Peking Legations, June to August, 1900* (London: Pewtress, 1900); Henry Bathurst Vaughan, *St. George and the Chinese Dragon: An Account of the Relief of the Pekin Legations* (London: Pearson, 1902); S. M. Russell, *The Story of the Siege in Peking* (London: Stock, 1901); Mary Hooker, *Behind the Scenes in Peking: Being Experiences during the Siege of the Legations* (London: Murray, 1910).

Missionaries of the China Inland Mission (1901), *The Tragedy of Paotingfu* (1902), *Fire and Sword in Shansi* (1903), *The China Martyrs of 1900* (1904), and the bestselling *A Thousand Miles of Miracles in China* (1904).[6] The third category was accounts of Admiral Seymour's relief column such as *From Tientsin to Peking with the Allied Forces* (1902).[7] Seymour's troops departed from Tianjin heading for Peking on 10 June 1900 in response to a call for assistance from Sir Claude MacDonald (1852-1915).[8] However, they returned to Tianjin on 26 June because they were unable to advance further to Peking and on 14 July the Chinese walled city was captured. Because Seymour's column consisted of approximately two thousand soldiers, they were greatly outnumbered by the Boxers, a fact that was frequently highlighted in accounts of the relief effort. For example, in 'The Captured Pigtail' (1901), a story in *Boys of Our Empire*, Jim remarks to his friend who is eager to join Seymour's force that they face a tough job because 'Lord only knows

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[6] Marshall Broomhall, ed., *Martyred Missionaries of the China Inland Mission: With a Record of the Perils & Sufferings of Some who Escaped* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1901); I. C. Ketler, *The Tragedy of Paotingfu: an Authentic Story of the Lives, Services and Sacrifices of the Presbyterian, Congregational and China Inland Missionaries who Suffered Martyrdom at Paotingfu, China, June 30th and July 1, 1900* (New York: Revell, 1902); E. H. Edwards, *Fire and Sword in Shansi: The Story of the Martyrdom of Foreigners and Chinese Christians* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, 1903); Robert Coventry Forsyth, ed., *The China Martyrs of 1900: A Complete Roll of the Christian Heroes Martyred in China in 1900 with Narratives of Survivors* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1904); Archibald Edward Glover, *A Thousand Miles of Miracle in China: A Personal Record of God's Delivering Power from the Hands of the Imperial Boxers at Shan-Si* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1904). Christian publications such as *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* were inundated with harrowing reports about murdered missionaries and native Christians, mostly in the Shandong and Shanxi area. For an example of how children in Sunday school were educated about the Uprising, see E. H. Spriggs, *Arthur Peill, Pan Tai Fu, the Beloved Physician* ([London]: Church Missionary Society, 1906).

[7] F. Brown, *From Tientsin to Peking with the Allied Forces* (London: Kelly, 1902).

[8] Sir Edward Hobart Seymour (1840–1929) had fought against the Taipings in 1862 and became commander-in-chief on the China station in December 1897. Seymour was featured in an article in *Boys of Our Empire* magazine called 'Empire Heroes': 'Admiral Seymour's task of leading that British forces to the rescue of the legations in Pekin was beset from the first with difficulties, but, as in the cases of the Nile expedition and the siege of Ladysmith, it has been illustrated once more the fact that the British Jack Tar can, when required, make himself as handy and as valuable on land as he has always been and always be on the seas': Robert Leighton, 'Empire Heroes I: Sir Edward Hobart Seymour, Our Commander in China', *Boys of Our Empire*, I.1 (1901), 14. For more information on Seymour's column, see Joseph W. Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 288-89. In addiction to written accounts of the Uprising, there were pictorial representations. See Commander C. N. Robinson, ed., *China of to-Day or The 'Yellow Peril': An Album of Pictures and Photographs Illustrating the Principal Places, Incidents, and Persons Connected with the Crisis in China* (London: Newnes, 1900).

how many millions of them there are'.[9] The sheer number of Chinese men caused the 'gallant rescuers' to think that although they killed hundreds, 'thousands replaced them'.[10] In emphasizing the small number of Seymour's troops versus the vast Chinese 'hordes', the author heightens the excitement and element of danger, making the victory over the Boxers seem even more remarkable. This kind of rhetoric was also evident in major British newspapers such as *The Times*, which published the following statement after the relief of the Legations: 'History has repeated itself [...] Once more a small segment of the civilized world, cut off and surrounded by an Asiatic horde, has exhibited those high moral qualities the lack of which renders mere numbers powerless'.[11]

The Perils of Pekin and 'The Captured Pigtail' are just two of the numerous British children's texts set during this tumultuous period characterized by an emphasis on chaos and commotion, despair and distress. Some of them emerged almost immediately after the news of the Boxers had reached Europe and America. Charlotte Yonge's children's book *The Making of a Missionary, or, Daydreams in Earnest* (1900) was published even before the conflict had ended. In her preface, dated 12 June 1900, two days after Seymour's troops were sent to relieve the Peking Legations during a time of great uncertainty over the fate of the trapped residents, Yonge explained that not much was known of 'the cruel persecution by the so-called Boxers' and predicted that 'there will probably [be] much more to lament' by the time the Uprising ended.[12] Despite Yonge's lack of information, she identified the

[9] Francis Marlowe, 'The Captured Pigtail', *Boys of Our Empire*, I.12 (1901), 215.
[10] Marlowe, 'The Captured Pigtail', 215.
[11] 'The Relief of Peking', *The Times*, 2 October 1900, p. 10.
[12] Charlotte Mary Yonge, *The Making of a Missionary or, Daydreams in Earnest* (New York: Whittaker, 1900), p. 5.

Boxers as a dangerous secret society also known as the Big Swords.[13] In the book's final chapter, Mabel, a female missionary who was responsible for teaching Chinese children in a village near Tianjin, is shot in front of her church by a group of about thirty Boxers armed 'with swords and firelocks, yelling: "Death to the foreign devils"'.[14]

Never before had an event in Sino-British relations ignited such an outpouring of fiction for children.[15] Other British Boxer novels include Constance Serjeant's *A Tale of Red Pekin* (1902), F. S. Brereton's *The Dragon of Pekin: A Tale of the Boxer Revolt* (1902), G. A. Henty's *With the Allies to Pekin: A Story of the Relief of the Legations* (1903) and Charles Gilson's *The Lost Column: A Story of the Boxer Rebellion in China* (1909).[16] In addition to novels, there were several short stories published in periodicals such as the *Boy's Own Paper* and *Chums*, such as Rev. Alfred Colbeck's 'Wang T'ien Pin: The Story of the Boxer Rising' (1901-02) and 'Dodging the Boxers: A True Story of Desperate Days' (1911-12).[17]

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[13] The Dadaohui (Big Swords or Long Swords) were founded by Liu Shiduan. See Paul A. Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 17.

[14] Yonge, *The Making of a Missionary*, p. 225. Most of the action in the book takes place in England—only the last four chapters are set in China, because according to Yonge, she does not have 'sufficient information' on the 'habits of the converts' in China (6).

[15] Some examples of the few adult novels set during the Boxer Uprising include: Mrs Archibald Little, *Out in China!* (London: Treherne, 1902); Louise Jordan Miln, *It Happened in Peking* (New York: Stokes, 1926); Julian Croskey, *"The S. G.": A Romance of Peking* (London: Lamely, 1900).

[16] Constancia Serjeant, *A Tale of Red Pekin* (London: Marshall Bros, 1902); Captain F. S. Brereton, *The Dragon of Pekin: A Tale of the Boxer Revolt* (London: Blackie and Son, 1902); G. A. Henty, *With the Allies to Pekin: A Story of the Relief of the Legations* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903); Charles James Louis Gilson, *The Lost Column: A Story of the Boxer Rebellion in China* (London: Frowde, 1909). American fiction includes Edward Stratemeyer, *On to Pekin* (Boston: Lothrop, Lee and Shephard, 1900); Elbridge Brooks, *Under the Allied Flags: A Boxer Story* (Boston: Lothrop, 1901).

[17] Rev. Alfred Colbeck (1858-?) authored *A Summer's Cruise in the Waters of Greece, Turkey, and Russia* (1887), *The Fall of the Staincliffes* (1890), *Scarlea Grange, or, A Luddite's Daughter* (1893), and other books for young readers. Alfred Colbeck, 'Wang T'ien Pin: The Story of the Boxer Rising' *Boy's Own Paper*, 24 (1901-02), 631-32, 643-45, 661-63, 676-79; Alfred Colbeck, 'Dodging the Boxers. A True Story of Desperate Days', *Boy's Own Paper*, 34 (1911-12), 342-44, 359-62, 373-75, 390-92, 404-06. Colbeck claims that his second story is based on fact. The Boxer Uprising is also mentioned in other *BOP* articles such as 'A "B.O.P." Talk about China' (vol. 23) by Stanley P. Smith, 'Pindlebury's Pirate' (vol. 25) by Alec G. Pearson, 'Jiu-Jitsu: Japanese Physical Training' (vol. 29) by R. Scotland Liddell, and 'A Chat about Hats' by F. M. Holmes (Summer 1901). Holmes' narrator, a straw hat, comments that 'in June 1900' when 'the troubles in China were becoming very serious',

It is worth examining how the Uprising is represented in *With the Allies to Pekin* and *The Lost Column* because both were written by well-known boy's writers whose books were consistently popular school prizes and Christmas gifts.[18] I choose to discuss these works because they provide interesting points of comparison: G. A. Henty (1832-1902) never travelled to China while Charles Gilson (1878-1943), who the *Penny Illustrated Paper* claimed was 'the Henty of today' in 1909, spent three and a half years there.[19]

Historians and novelists have documented the influence which Henty and

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the straw prices rose considerably (15). Pindlebury, Pearson's protagonist, intended to join an exploration to Mongolia, but it was canceled because of the Boxer Rebellion. A serial in *Young England* called 'The Sway of the World: A Story of Mystery and Adventure' claimed that a secret society called 'The Three' organized the Boxer outbreak and includes scenes where the protagonist is attacked by Boxers. Lawrence Zeal, 'The Sway of the World: A Story of Mystery and Adventure', *Young England*, 25 (1903-04), 1-8, 66-73,102-09, 157-62, 185-91, 237-44, 282-89, 317-22, 346-52, 388-94, 438-44, 464-69. For Christian stories on the Boxer Uprising, see Nell Parsons, *The Little Chinese Girl* (London: Culley, 1909), pp. 75-81; Stanley V. Boxer, *The Story of a Chinese Scout* (London: London Missionary Society, 1922). Interest in the Boxer Uprising has not subsided since the early twentieth century. Three children's books appeared in the late 1970s and 90s. Published in 1979, Peter Dickinson's *Tulku* relates the adventures of Theodore, Fu T'iao, Lung, and Mrs Jones as they escape from the Boxers into Tibet. In 1999, two books on the Boxer Uprising were published, one fiction and the other non-fiction. *Mask of the Wolf Boy: Jonathan and Rosalind Goforth* introduces readers to the lives of two Canadian missionaries during the Uprising through their relationship with a fictional Chinese boy named Fu-Lin. *Uncle Sam's Little Wars* (1999) gives a brief overview of the American involvement in the relief of the Legations. See Peter Dickinson, *Tulku* (New York: Dutton, 1979); Dave and Neta Jackson, *Mask of the Wolf Boy: Jonathan and Rosalind Goforth* (Grand Rapids, MI: Bethany House, 1999); John P. Langellier, *Uncle Sam's Little Wars: The Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection, and Boxer Rebellion, 1898-1902* (London: Greenhill, 1999). There was also an adult historical romance published in 1975, which investigates issues of looting during the Boxer Uprising and its repercussions on descendants of the looters. See Dorothy Eden, *The Time of the Dragon* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1975).

[18] According to Guy Arnold, one of Henty's publishers estimated that 'the figure of 150,000 [copies] a year in the days of his popularity I do not think can be under the mark...I know that with our figure [some 3,514,000 printed and presumably sold], Scribner's, and Donohue's plus and unknown quantity for other pirated editions, it looks as if 25,000,000 is not impossible': Guy Arnold, *Held Fast for England: G. A. Henty, Imperialist Boys' Writer* (London: Hamilton, 1980), p. 17. Gilson's sales figures were lower than Henty's but in 1932, he estimated that over 200,000 copies of his books for boys had been sold. See Charles Gilson, *Chances and Mischances: The Memories of a Writer, a Sportsman, a Soldier and a Wanderer in Five Continents, in War and Peace* (London: Jarrolds, 1932), p. 282.

[19] 'P.I.P. Playgoer', *P.I.P.: Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times*, 17 April 1909, p. 249. Although Gilson does not provide the exact dates he lived in China, it is highly likely that he was stationed there sometime between 1902 and 1905. He writes that at the beginning of 1901 he was doing transport work 'between Potchefstroom and Ventersdorp' and in 1902, he discussed '*Der Tag* openly with [his] Prussian and Saxon friends' in North China and in 1903 they 'talked of Mons and machine-guns'. Since he spent three and a half years in China, he probably arrived in 1902 and departed in 1905/06 because he mentions that soon after the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), he suffered from 'sunstroke in Shan-hai-Kwan' and left China not long after. See Gilson, *Chances and Mischances,* pp. 80-83.

Gilson's books on China had on their lives. For example, Graham Greene recalled how reading *The Lost Column* affected his career. He argues that the 'influence of early books is profound. So much of the future lies on the shelves: early reading has more influence on conduct than any religious teaching'. To illustrate his assertion, he states that had he never read *The Lost Column*, he would have 'made a false start' in the British American Tobacco Company, who had offered him a post in China at the age of twenty-one. Later in life, he 'bought and reread [the book] for old time's sake'.[20] Henty's books, which have been translated into languages such as French, Danish, Norwegian, and Spanish, have sold millions of copies world-wide.[21] Critics have panned Henty's dialogue for being 'wooden, grandiloquent, and speechifying', criticized his plots for presenting 'the same moral purpose and scheme of values', and attacked his characters for being unrealistic and unsubstantial because they never face inner moral conflicts or struggles.[22] However, according to Robert Huttenback, Henty's importance lies not in his originality but rather 'in the extent to which he heightened and tinted with life an already existing stereotype and so

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[20] Graham Greene, *A Sort of Life* (London: The Bodley Head, 1971), pp. 52-53.
[21] Mark Naidis, 'G. A. Henty's Idea of India', *Victorian Studies*, VIII (1964), 49-58 (p. 50). Scholarship on G. A. Henty has mostly centred on his idea of Empire and imperial stereotypes found in his stories about Africa and India. See Roy Turnbaugh, 'Images of Empire: George Alfred Henty and John Buchan', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 9.3 (1975), 734-40; Arnold, *Held Fast for England*; Leonard R. N. Ashley, *George Alfred Henty and the Victorian Mind* (San Francisco: International Scholars, 1999); Robert A. Huttenback, 'G. A. Henty and the Imperial Stereotype', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 29 (1965), 63-75; Mawuena Kossi Logan, *Narrating Africa: George Henty and the Fiction of Empire* (New York: Garland, 1999); David J. Lorenzo, 'The Portrayal of Similarities in the Justification of Empire: G. A. Henty and Late Nineteenth-Century British Imperial Literature', *McNeese Review*, 37 (1999), 14-42; Jeffrey Richards, 'With Henty to Africa', in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, ed. by Jeffrey Richards (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 72-106; Nancy J. Schmidt, 'The Writer as Teacher: A Comparison of the African Adventure Stories of G. A. Henty, Rene Guillot, and Barbara Kimenye', *African Studies Review*, 19.2 (1976), 69-80.
[22] See Stuart Hannabuss, 'The Henty Phenomenon', *Children's Literature in Education*, 24.2 (1983), 80-93 (pp. 81; 87); Nicholas Ranson, 'G. A. Henty', in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: British Children's Writers, 1880-1914*, ed. by Laura M. Zaidman and Caroline C. Hunt (Charleston: The Gale Group, 1994), pp. 118-33; Dara L. Daigneault, 'The Hero and the Other: G. A. Henty's Juvenile Fiction', (unpublished master's thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1994), pp. 11-20; Kimberley Reynolds, *Girls Only?: Gender and Popular Children's Fiction in Britain, 1880-1910* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990), p. 71; Claudia Nelson, *Boys Will Be Girls: The Feminine Ethic and British Children's Fiction, 1857-1917* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991), p. 107; Lorenzo, 'The Portrayal of Similarities', 20.

colored the attitudes and opinions of future generations of British and, for that matter, American schoolboys'.[23] Novelist Geoffrey Trease portrays himself answering 'Henty's call' to 'march *With Roberts to Pretoria*, *With the Allies to Pekin* [...] and [...] with almost every military expedition from Hannibal and his elephants onwards'.[24] American historian Arthur Meier Schlesinger, who became 'absorbed in Henty' despite his stigmatization as a Victorian imperialist 'in a time of debunking and disillusion', acquired initial knowledge of the Boxer Uprising from *With the Allies to Pekin.*[25]

Just as Bessie Marchant's characters had to face 'hostile hordes', the heroes of the Boxer narratives must overcome 'hordes' of Chinese on their journeys.[26] During

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[23] Huttenback, 'G. A. Henty', 75.

[24] Geoffrey Trease, *Tales out of School: A Survey of Children's Fiction* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1964), p. 19. Other novelists who enjoyed Henty include Henry Miller and Graham Greene. In fact, Graham Greene admitted that he 'particularly liked the dull historical parts'. Miller estimates that he read all of his favourite author's novels before the age of fourteen and continued to enjoy them as an adult with 'the same fascinating pleasure' he felt as a child. See Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *A Life in the Twentieth Century: Innocent Beginnings, 1917-1950* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), p. 68.

[25] Schlesinger, *A Life in the Twentieth Century*, p. 67. Not only did Henty's books educate and generate historical interest in future historians and novelists, according to military officers, they were 'effectual' in influencing young people to join the Army: Schlesinger, *A Life in the Twentieth Century*, p. 68. Robert MacNeil, former co-anchor of the MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour, recalls that as a teenager in Canada he read about thirty Henty novels 'hungrily', 'not for any thrill from the language, but strictly for content': Robert MacNeil, *Wordstruck: A Memoir* (London: Penguin, 1990), p. 111. In addition to novelists, senators, historians, billionaires, and other educated men, working-class youth read Henty's novels as well. See Jonathan Rose's *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001). Even female readers identified with Henty's heroes. For example, Dorothy McCall admired 'the physical mobility and resourcefulness shown by Godfrey in Condemned as a Nihilist [...] or by the Young Carthaginian escaping in a boat through the underground sewers of Carthage': Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader, 1837-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 202.

[26] Rex Bateman in *With the Allies to Pekin* must make his way past the 'hordes of Chinese' that lie between Tianjin and Pekin and Gerald Milton Wood in *The Lost Column* finds himself 'in the very midst of the Boxer hordes, the men who were mad to kill': Henty, *With the Allies to Pekin*, p. 81; Gilson, *The Lost Column*, p. 312. Use of the word 'hordes' echoes earlier fears of Mongol hordes invading Europe. See Ariane Knüsel, '"Western Civilization" against "Hordes of Yellow Savages": British Perceptions of the Boxer Rebellion', *Asiatische Studien/ Etudes Asiatiques*, LXII.I (2008), 43-84 (p. 46). It is also interesting to compare Marchant's depiction of Gordon with Henty's depiction of MacDonald and Seymour. The cult of hero worship is quite evident in *Among Hostile Hordes* but in 1903, Henty's Sir Claude MacDonald does not seem to occupy such a prominent heroic position, possibly because he had allowed looting in Peking and organized an auctioning of the loot which resulted in his being transferred to Japan. Unlike Marchant's Gordon, Henty's MacDonald is not lionized does not have much interaction with Rex. He merely congratulates Rex on his bravery and allocates someone else to take Rex under his wing. He serves as the voice of justice when he judges that a Belgian man had tried to take credit for Rex's valorous deeds and punishes the man. Seymour's role is even smaller. He assigns Rex to be Major Johnson's interpreter and disappears.

the Boxer Uprising, *Punch* published a caricature featuring Japanese, Russian, and other European soldiers, dressed as knights of the Middle Ages, heading to Peking. As Ariane Knüsel has pointed out, the illustration conjures up references to 'the crusades or Arthurian legends in which Western (Christian) civilization fought against hordes of (heathen) barbarians'.[27] Just as Charles Gordon was depicted as an Arthurian knight in reports of the Taiping Rebellion and Boer War, the British men involved in the Boxer Uprising were described by Gilson as fighting for 'more than their lives, for brave, pale-faced women and helpless children and the God who loved them all' in this 'twentieth-century crusade'.[28]

It is important to examine these Boxer stories for children because as Ken Parille points out, many authors and educators believed that 'historical narratives had an "ennobling" effect on boys'.[29] In addition, Kim Wilson argues that writers can effectively use historical fiction, which holds the position 'of being both fact and fiction simultaneously', to highlight certain values that are helpful in forming and perpetuating a national identity.[30] In this chapter, I examine the rhetoric that Henty and Gilson used in *With the Allies to Pekin* and *The Lost Column* and discuss how it relates to ideas of national identity.[31] I also identify the historical 'facts' and lessons

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[27] Knüsel, '"Western Civilization"', 46.

[28] Gilson, *The Lost Column*, pp. 313-14; 362. In his memoir, Gilson writes that during his years in China he felt 'as if we were taking part in a Twentieth Century Crusade': Gilson, *Chances and Mischances*, p. 98.

[29] Ken Parille, '"What Our Boys Are Reading": Lydia Sigourney, Francis Forrester, and Boyhood Literacy in Nineteenth-Century America', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, 33.1 (2008), 4-25 (p. 4).

[30] Kim Wilson, '"Are They Telling Us the Truth?": Constructing National Character in the Scholastic Press Historical Journal Series', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, 32.2 (2007), 129-41 (p. 130).

[31] Both books were listed in Jonathan Nield, *A Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales*, 5th edn (London: Mathews, 1929; repr. New York: Franklin, 1968), p. 258. I choose not to discuss *The Perils of Pekin* because it is about American boys and I do not examine *The Dragon of Pekin* because although set in the Boxer Uprising, the main plot involves two boys (Charlie Dashwood and Bob Duncan) seeking revenge on a mixed-race villain named Mr. Sung, who had deliberately poisoned Charlie's father and fled with their money and title-deeds to a jade mine, which Charlie and Bob are determined to retrieve. Despite being half-English like Dalton's hero in *The Wolf Boy of China* and *The Wasps of the Ocean*, Sung is completely opposite of Herbert Richardson, because while Herbert 'may fairly claim to be considered worthy' of both [English and Chinese] nations, 'or at least no

incorporated into the children's texts. It is important to consider the background of the authors and how different sources they consulted may have influenced the type of 'facts' transmitted. Mitzi Myers points out that '[m]ore than any other juvenile categories, war stories foreground basic questions: what counts as "children's literature" and how does that literature differ from works for an adult audience; what constitutes permissible subject matter [...]'.[32] Examining Gilson's and Henty's work also brings these questions to the foreground especially when one considers the rhetoric of violence in these two narratives. In the last section of this chapter, I investigate discourses of war and demonstrate how historical fiction such as *With the Allies to Pekin* and *The Lost Column* are a locus for the anxieties and uncertainties about Empire and Britain's position in China that surfaced during the Boxer Uprising.

With the Allies to Pekin and *The Lost Column* have been analysed in Ross G. Forman's 'Peking Plots: Fictionalizing the Boxer Rebellion' and James Hevia's *English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China.*[33] While Forman's discussions regarding issues of masculinity, economics, politics, and the parallels between discourses on the Boxer Uprising and the Indian Mutiny (1857-58) are insightful, he tends to regard Boxer fiction as mostly homogeneous rather than heterogeneous. He does not reflect on how the books' publication dates

disgrace to either', Sung is 'half English and half Chinese, and a very bad example of both at that': William Dalton, *The Wasps of the Ocean: or, Little Waif and the Pirate of the Eastern Seas. A Romance of Travel and Adventure in China and Siam* (London: Marlborough, 1869), p. 1; Brereton, *The Dragon of Pekin*, p. 19. The book was criticized for its inaccuracies. For example, a reviewer points out the inaccuracies in the novel, noting that 'some liberties are taken with the facts respecting Admiral Seymour's force, whilst the position at Tientsin varies somewhat from the facts as they were [...]': 'Reviews and Literary Notes: The Dragon of Peking: A Tale of the Boxer Revolt', *London and China Telegraph Supplement*, 30 December 1901, p. 1. In her discussion of Brereton's other works, Claudia Nelson criticizes him for caring 'little for historical accuracy': Nelson, *Boys Will Be Girls*, p. 112.

[32] Mitzi Myers, 'Storying War: A Capsule Overview', *The Lion and the Unicorn*, 24.3 (2000), 327-36 (p. 333).

[33] Ross G. Forman, 'Peking Plots: Fictionalizing the Boxer Rebellion of 1900', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 27.1 (1999), 19-48; James Louis Hevia, *English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

and their chronological proximity to the events may or may not have influenced the depiction of the Boxers. Some of his statements are problematic. For example, he writes that 'the uprising spawned two types of fictions: the first, about the events of the Rebellion itself and the heroic efforts of a boy protagonist, disguised in native dress, to safeguard his family members and the European community at large; the second, about the break-up of China and an ensuing invasion from the East of "yellow hordes"'.[34] This categorization is too simplistic, however, because the type of fiction written by authors such Charlotte Yonge, Alfred Colbeck, and Constancia Serjeant which focuses on Christian suffering during the Boxer Uprising, was more diverse. Some of his other assertions regarding issues of disguise are questionable, and will be discussed later in this chapter. In *English Lessons*, Hevia asserts that the writers of Boxer fiction for children 'fixed the meaning of the event in clear-cut terms of perpetrator and victim, while providing their young heroes the opportunity to perform the positive masculine virtues of empire builders'.[35] He also comments that in the Henty's book, there is 'absolute distinction between civilization and barbarism' and that 'the racial typologies of the era' are reproduced in it.[36] I argue that both texts are more complicated and that the tendency to see this literature in stereotyped terms is unhelpful and unproductive.

Early Boxer Narratives: 1900-1902

Before discussing Henty and Gilson, however, I want to consider some early Boxer narratives to provide a point of comparison for how images of the event changed over the decade between when news of the Boxers first reached Britain in 1899 and the publication of Gilson's novel in 1909, eight years after the Boxer

[34] Forman, 'Peking Plots', 40.
[35] Hevia, *English Lessons*, p. 303.
[36] Hevia, *English Lessons*, p. 303.

Protocol was signed.[37] In *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth*, Paul Cohen examines, among other issues, the important role rumours played in fuelling the Boxer Uprising.[38] Two early Boxer stories, Alfred Colbeck's 'Wang T'ien Pin: The Story of the Boxer Rising', which was serialized in the *Boy's Own Paper* from 1901-02, and Constancia Serjeant's *A Tale of Red Pekin* (1902) reflect how rumours influenced the Chinese perception of foreigners and how they contributed to mutual misunderstandings between the Chinese and the British during this time. For example, in Colbeck's story, Wang T'ien Pin's father initially refused to seek help from a British doctor to heal his son because he had heard rumours that the foreign doctor's medicine comes from the bones of little boys. Colbeck suggests that the ignorant Chinese people, prone to sensationalism, let their wild imaginations dictate their actions, choosing to believe in rumours such as missionaries eating Chinese children and mutilating patients, instead of rationally analysing the situation.[39] In *A Tale of Red Pekin*, the Chinese are also described as 'ignorant people' who 'are told all kinds of things which they believe, that the Europeans take their little children and kill them, and that it is our presence here which causes the lack of rain'.[40] Rumours abound in this story. According to one, houses marked with a 'Red Hand' are cursed. Both the British and the Chinese dread seeing the imprint and each believe the other is responsible for placing the curse. Mrs Ross fears that the inhabitants of the marked houses would be killed by Boxers, while the Chinese accuse the foreigners of smearing the houses and believe that 'in seven days one of

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[37] The conditions of the Protocol included an indemnity of 450,000,000 taels of silver and permission for foreign occupation in Tangshan, Tianjin, Qinhuangdao, Shanhaiguan, and Langfang.
[38] Cohen, *History in Three Keys*, pp. 146-72.
[39] Critics argue that 'The Boxers played upon peasant fears—fables that missionaries collected orphans to eat them, and that their hospitals practiced alchemy through the mutilation of patients': E. Stillman and W. Pfaff, *The Politics of Hysteria: The Sources of Twentieth-Century Conflict* (London: Gollancz, 1965), p. 92.
[40] Serjeant, *A Tale of Red Pekin*, p. 46.

the inmates would go mad, or in fourteen days they would die'.[41] Serjeant borrows this incident from Roland Allen's *The Siege of Peking Legations* (1901), a book which was praised for its 'simple and straightforward' narrative style and reportage that did not wander off 'into disquisitions on diplomacy or military tactics'.[42] On 13 June 1900, Allen, the Acting Chaplain to H. B. M.'s Legation in Peking, hears from Sir Robert Hart about the 'Red Hand', which he thought was a 'Boxer mark set on houses suspected or doomed'. However, Hart informs him that 'the mark was supposed to be set on the houses by foreigners, and was a charm which caused one of the inmates to go mad in seven days or to die in fourteen'.[43] This incident highlights the mutual distrust between the Chinese and the British and the tendency to believe the worst about the other side.

Both of these early Boxer narratives focus on Christian suffering during the Uprising. Brave, devout, and self-sacrificing, Wang T'ien Pin, who converted to Christianity after being healed, is attacked and beheaded by Boxers when he firmly refuses to give up his new beliefs.[44] In *A Tale of Red Pekin*, Boxers, 'like devils

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[41] Serjeant, *A Tale of Red Pekin*, p. 47.
[42] 'Allen's (Rev. Roland) the Siege of the Pekin Legations (Book Review)', *Academy*, 60 (1901), 441.
[43] Roland Allen, *The Siege of the Legations: Being the Diary of Rev. Roland Allen* (London: Smith, Elder, 1901), p. 78. The Red Hand rumours most likely inspired Gilson to name his Boxer short story 'The Scarlet Hand: A Thrilling Tale of Adventure in China'. In this story, the Secret Society of the Scarlet Hand is not only 'one of the most dreaded societies of Boxers', it is the most 'formidable and dangerous secret society in Asia' which proclaimed that 'all "foreign devils", man, woman, and child, would be ruthlessly put to the sword, and their bodies cast into the Yangtse': Charles Gilson, 'The Scarlet Hand: A Thrilling Tale of Adventure in China', *The Captain*, XXVI (1911-12), 286-94 (p. 388). Gilson wrote another serial in 1913-14 with the same name but different characters in *The Boy's Journal* which was expanded and published in book form in 1920. Charles Gilson, 'The Scarlet Hand', *The Boy's Journal*, 1.1-25 (1913-1914), 325-30, 69-73, 99-402, 27-3, 51-5, 83-8, 511-1, 45-4, 74-7, 99-602, 35-3, 63-6, 91-9, 719-2, 49-50; Charles Gilson, *The Scarlet Hand: Being the Adventures of Travers Humphreys and His Friend, Jack Haliday, Together with Authenticated Facts in Connection with the Secret Society of the Scarlet Hand, and Some Mention of Jugatai, the Tartar* (London: 'The Boy's Own Paper' Office, [1920]). In 1934, Gilson had another Boxer story published in *Chums* called 'Through the Boxer Lines' that rehashed the plot of *The Lost Column.* See Charles Gilson, 'Through the Boxer Lines', *Chums*, XXXXII (1934), 663-75.
[44] This is also true of Colbeck's other Boxer story, 'Dodging the Boxers: A True Story of Desperate Days' (1911-12), which he claims is based on fact. His Chinese hero is eighteen-year-old Li, a Chinese Christian. Boxers try to cut Li's throat to see if his eyelids would flutter, but Li succeeds in disclosing nothing they demanded to know. Later, Li's father, who had almost been murdered in a conflict over a land dispute, is killed by the Boxers because he did not deny that he was a 'Jesu man'.

possessed', start to burn buildings, loot villages, and kill Christians.[45] Mr St. John, a medical missionary, urges his wife and children to flee to another city while he stays behind with the Chinese Christians. Twelve-year-old Cecilia St. John and her family undergo trials while trying to escape from the Boxers, who 'pretend to see most wonderful apparitions, those who appear always bearing the same message, "Kill! Kill!"'[46] According to Cecilia's cousin Nina, the Boxers are the Empress Dowager's 'tools'.[47] In the eyes of many British, the Empress Dowager was the representative of the corrupt Chinese court and Oriental despotism. Described as 'all-powerful', 'wicked', 'cruel', 'crafty', and 'unscrupulous', she was the embodiment of everything that was wrong with China.[48] In *With the Allies to Pekin* (*WAP*), Rex's father blames her for the severity of the Boxer Uprising: 'The Empress of China is the one person responsible for all this mischief. If she had set her face firmly against the Boxers from the first, and issued stringent instructions to her generals to stamp them out, they would never have been formidable' (*WAP* 30). In a sense, she was the antithesis of Victoria, the benevolent Queen-Empress of the British Empire.[49] Whereas earlier Boxer texts portray the protagonists as innocent victims of irrational hatred, Henty and Gilson's books, which focus more on the military and diplomatic aspects of the event, provide possible reasons for Boxer anti-foreign sentiments. Before examining these reasons in more detail, I will first introduce Henty and

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In these stories, the Chinese people's lives are considered not as valuable as those of Westerners, because the missionaries always survive, while the loyal Chinese die (Wang and Li's father).

[45] Serjeant, *A Tale of Red Pekin*, p. 6.

[46] Serjeant, *A Tale of Red Pekin*, p. 46. She borrows this description from Allen's book where he mentions that the Empress Dowager 'had heard spirits in the night crying 'Kill! kill!' Allen, *The Siege of the Legations*, p. 70.

[47] Serjeant, *A Tale of Red Pekin*, p. 46.

[48] Graydon, *The Perils of Pekin*, p. 171; Serjeant, *A Tale of Red Pekin,* p. 46; Brereton, *The Dragon of Pekin*, p. 144. See also [Mary Isabella] Bryson, *The Land of the Pigtail* (London: Sunday School Union, 1905), p. 114.

[49] For discussion of the image of Queen Victoria in children's history textbooks, see Eric Evans, 'The Victorians at School: The Victorian Era in the Twentieth-Century Curriculum', in *The Victorians since 1901: Histories, Representations and Revisions*, ed. by Miles Taylor and Michael Wolff (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 181-97 (pp. 182-83).

Gilson and provide plot summaries of their novels.

George Alfred Henty and Charles Gilson

George Alfred Henty, a Cambridge-educated journalist turned boy's writer, authored over eighty adventure stories for boys, mostly historical novels, written 'to amuse as well as to give instruction in the facts of history'.[50] After leaving his job as war correspondent for the London *Standard* in 1876 due to health reasons, he concentrated on writing and churned out an average of three books a year.[51] Henty gave some interviews during his lifetime that illuminated his writing objectives and practices.[52] In 'Writing Books for Boys', Henty attributes his books' popularity among parents to the fact that they did not 'deviate in the very slightest degree from historical facts, except where the boy hero is, so to speak, on the loose'.[53] Henty's stated practice was to mix 'a very large amount of personal adventure' in with the history to 'make it [the history] go down with the boys'.[54] Because his didactic intentions were very clear, it is not surprising that in 1906, Caroline Hewins (1846-1926), an employee of the Hartford Public Library in the United States, promoted the use of Henty novels to help boys gain 'an intelligent interest in general history'. For Hewins, the books should be read not for their literary merit but their ability to help boys cultivate a taste for history.[55]

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[50] See Preface of G. A. Henty, *With Lee in Virginia; a Story of the American Civil War* (London: Foulsham, [n.d.]), n. pag.

[51] However, he never physically set pen to paper, because all of the stories were dictated to an assistant, narrated as if he was talking to his children. See Patrick A. Dunae, 'New Grub Street for Boys', in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, ed. by Jeffrey Richards (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 12-33 (p. 20) and Patrick Howarth, *Play up and Play the Game: The Heroes of Popular Fiction* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1973), p. 78.

[52] See G. A. Henty, 'How Boys Books Are Written', *Great Thoughts from Master Minds*, 2 (1902-03), 8-10; G. A. Henty, 'Interview', *Chums*, 2 (1894), 159; G. A. Henty, 'Writing Books for Boys', *Answers*, (1902), 105.

[53] Henty, 'Writing Books for Boys', 105.

[54] Henty, 'Writing Books for Boys', 105.

[55] She outlined her reading program in the *Wisconsin Library Bulletin* 2.5 (1906). Those who followed her reading program would first read a Henty novel, then be guided to study 'a better story of the same period' and 'a life of one of the real characters in every book'. To enhance their learning experience, readers should 'look up places on a map, unfamiliar words and references in a dictionary or cyclopedia': Quoted in Montrose J. Moses, *Children's Books and Reading* (New York: Kennerley, 1907), p. 175. Caroline M. Hewins wrote many articles on children's reading and compiled lists of

Charles James Louis Gilson, considered one of Henty's successors, is one of the few authors examined in this thesis who had lived in China. Born in Dedham, Essex to Charles Rawlinson Gilson and Flora Macdonald, Gilson was educated at Dulwich College, where he excelled in cricket and rugby and was a contemporary of P. G. Wodehouse (1881-1975).[56] Gilson entered the army at the age of eighteen, was wounded while serving in the Boer War (1899-1902), and began writing during his convalescence. After his recovery, he served in China, Japan, the South Sea Islands, Australia, Canada, East Africa and the East Indies. However, at the age of twenty-seven, Captain Gilson was invalided out of the army.[57] Back in England, he focused on writing boys' stories and in 1907, *The Captain* serialized his first full-length serial: 'The Lost Island: A Strange Tale of Adventure in the Far East', a story based on R. L. Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883) but which had 'a Chinese setting, because [Gilson] felt at home with Chinamen'.[58] Gilson joined the Naval Division in World War I and was later promoted to the rank of Major.[59] These experiences prompted him to continue writing stories for children's periodicals such as the *Boy's Own Paper*, *Chums*, and *Pluck*, and many of his subsequent serials, such as 'The Mystery of Ah Jim', were published in book form. In addition to writing boys' stories, Gilson also wrote plays and published girls' stories such as *Beyond the Dragon Door: A Story of Adventure for Girls* using the penname Barbara Gilson.[60]

Gilson's memories of China can be found in *Chances and Mischances: The*

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recommended books. See Virginia Haviland, ed., *Children's Literature: Views and Reviews* (London: The Bodley Head, 1973), p. 30.

[56] See David Shacklock, 'The Henty Succession', *Henty Society Bulletin*, XI.88 (1999), 17-22 (p. 22); Brian Doyle, *The Who's Who of Children's Literature* (London: Evelyn, 1968), p. 111; Lofts and Adley, *The Men Behind Boy's Fiction*, p. 151; Anne Commire, ed., *Yesterday's Authors of Books for Children: Facts and Pictures About Authors and Illustrators of Books for Young People, from Early Times to 1960*, 2 vols (Detroit, MI: Gale, 1978), II, p. 124.

[57] Gilson, *Chances and Mischances*, p. 25.

[58] Charles Gilson, 'About My Own Stories', *Boy's Own Paper*, 44 (1921), 22.

[59] According to Commire, his name was mentioned in despatches during World War I. See Commire, ed., *Yesterday's Authors*, p. 124.

[60] Barbara Gilson, *Beyond the Dragon Door: A Story of Adventure for Girls* (London: Warne, 1934).

Memories of a Writer, a Sportsman, a Soldier and a Wanderer in Five Continents, in War and Peace (1932). His familiarity with the Boxer Uprising was much more personal than Henty's because he arrived in China as part of the Allied Army of Occupation when 'the Boxer Rebellion was of more or less recent occurrence'. In his view, China was the 'most interesting part of the world' in those days, because the country had become a 'diplomatic hot-bed'.[61] One of his jobs during that time was to bring a column of 'two hundred infantry and several miles of transport from Tientsin to Peking by road'.[62] This experience gave him the opportunity to become familiar with the area between the two cities and the map that he provides in *The Lost Column* reflects his knowledge of the different buildings and streets of Tianjin.

Because Gilson worked in northern China not long after the signing of the Boxer Protocol on 7 September 1901, he most likely had the opportunity to converse with those involved in the Boxer Uprising. He recalls being acquainted with 'Germans, French, Serbian Cossacks, and Indian cavalrymen'—people who may have experienced the Siege of the Legations or participated in Admiral Seymour's relief column.[63] One of his most famous acquaintances in China was George Morrison (1862-1920), *The Times* Peking correspondent, who used to dine with Gilson when he came down to Tianjin from Peking and 'strongly advised' him to 'give up the sword for the pen'.[64] During the Boxer Uprising, many journalists who believed rumours that everyone had been massacred in the Peking Legations had prematurely published obituaries of key figures such as Sir Robert Hart, Sir Claude MacDonald, and Morrison himself. Gilson recalls Morrison showing him a press-

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[61] Gilson, *Chances and Mischances*, pp. 82; 98.
[62] Gilson, *Chances and Mischances*, p. 84.
[63] Gilson, *Chances and Mischances* , p. 83.
[64] Gilson, *Chances and Mischances*, p. 159. After Gilson had written his first book for boys, he received a letter from Morrison 'saying that he felt quite sure I had found my true métier'. For more information on Morrison, see Lo Hui-Min, ed., *The Correspondence of G. E. Morrison*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976-1978). The correspondence between Gilson and Morrison is not found in these two volumes.

cutting book 'entirely filled with his own *obituary notices*. These appeared in 1900 in all the leading papers of the world, when it was reported that the Peking Legations had fallen to the Boxers and the entire garrison had been massacred'.[65] This incident must have made Gilson more aware of the unreliability of newspaper reports and possibly inspired him to write *The Lost Column* as a more realistic account of how the lives of British residents were affected during the Boxer Uprising.

With the Allies to Pekin* and *The Lost Column

Like Marchant's *Among Hostile Hordes*, *With the Allies to Pekin* reflects the concerns of merchants, missionaries, and military men in China. While *Among Hostile Hordes* features a younger boy hero (Don is thirteen), Henty and Gilson's stories focus on teenagers on the cusp of manhood. The story begins with the hero Rex Bateman leaving China at the age of twelve to receive an education back in England. His father James wishes for Rex to retain his Chinese language skills, so he asks his servant Ah Lo to accompany his son during his sojourn back home. Because public schools such as Eton would not allow Rex to take some afternoons off to converse in Chinese with Ah Lo, he is sent to school in the London vicinity. Returning to China in spring 1900, sixteen-year-old Rex experiences a series of exciting events. First, he saves his two orphaned cousins from Boxer captivity (their missionary parents were murdered) and brings them to the Peking Legations. Then, he acts as an interpreter for Major Johnson and later for the Japanese troops, rescues thirteen trapped Chinese Christians safely into the Legations, silences two guns, enters Prince Ching's palace to hand him a letter from the British Minister, delivers a message to Sir Claude MacDonald, helps in the relief of the Legations in several other ways, and saves some women from Russian soldiers. After the Boxers are defeated, Rex follows his father's orders to purchase many valuable looted goods

[65] Emphasis in the original. Gilson, *Chances and Mischances*, p. 158. For an example of the obituaries Morrison referred to, see 'Dr. G. E. Morrison', *The Times*, 17 July 1900, p. 4.

offered at low prices on the market.[66] He therefore emerges from the Boxer Uprising rich with loot and replete with accolades from his superiors, such as Major Johnson, who informs Mr. Bateman that he should be very proud of his son because, 'If he had been in the army he would certainly have earned a V. C.' (*WAP* 265).[67] At the end of the book Rex decides to return to England with his family for a few years before coming back to Tianjin to continue running the family business. Ah Lo, 'who refused positively Mr. Bateman's offer to set him up comfortably in a farm in his native village' also sails with them to Europe (*WAP* 353).

Compared to Henty's book, the scale of Gilson's novel is smaller and more focused on the personal level. One reviewer commented on the 'realism' in *The Lost Column* (*LC*), where 'fact and fiction are blended so cleverly by one who knows the people and the places he is writing about that it all reads as if every word of it might

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[66] Many critics have commented on the morally questionable depiction of looting in *With the Allies to Pekin*. See for example, Hevia, *English Lessons*, p. 304; David Gunby, 'Henty and the Boxers: Sources and Attitudes', *Henty Society Bulletin*, XI.88 (1999), 2-17 (p. 17); Arnold, *Held Fast for England*, p. 73; Dong Ning Lin, 'Power and Representation in Victorian Discourse on China', (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland, 1994), pp. 195-96. Rex does not directly participate in looting but acts as a consumer. He gains financially while doing his 'duty' as a son but does not compromise his character by taking part in the despised looting activities. Gunby argues that because Henty is caught between 'his sources, and particularly Thomson, on whom he is drawing, and his need, as always, to provide at the last for the financial well-being of his hero and his family', the book is morally ambiguous: Gunby, 'Henty and the Boxers', 17. Lin Dong Ning points out that earlier in the novel the British are dissociated from looting but later the text contradictorily endorses Rex's amassing of fortune from looted objects sold well below their market value and concludes that the story does not succeed in suppressing the fact that the ultimate reason people engage in imperialist actions is to make profits. Lin, 'Power and Representation', pp. 195-96. The Boxers are portrayed by Gilson in *The Lost Column* as having nothing but loot on their minds: 'The Boxer showed no more aim in his calling than the accumulation of loot' (231). Gilson does not ever describe looting though and does not mention that the Powers also participated in looting. Another Boxer story dealing with looting is *Prince Tuan's Treasure* where the narrator states 'We continued our looting excursions in the city during the next few days, until the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces had put a stop to further looting; by which time we had amassed about 3,000,000 pounds worth of valuables. This we decided to sell and divide the proceeds equally amongst the members of the Bank who were present during the siege, including Miss Stephens': E. A. Freemantle, *Prince Tuan's Treasure, and Other Interesting Tales of the "Boxer Rebellion of 1900"* (Vellore: The Record Press, 1911), p. 9.

[67] In the novel, Henty refers to a real young Englishman who earned a Victoria Cross during the Boxer Uprising: Basil Guy, the 'only midshipman who had ever gained that honour'. Henty describes how he attempted to rescue a wounded seaman named M'Carthy: 'the whole fire of the enemy was concentrated upon him, and the ground was literally ploughed up with shot. M'Carthy was placed on the stretcher, but as he was being carried in, he was again hit, and this time killed' (*WAP* 236). For a description of this incident, see Thomson, *China and the Powers*, p. 70.

have been true'.[68] The scope of this novel is limited to the Tianjin area because Gilson explains that 'The defence of the Peking Legations will live for ever in the memories of the countrymen of those who kept their nations' flags at the masthead through it all. But no less are the defenders of Tientsin deserving of the highest praise [...]' (*LC* 134).[69] Because numerous accounts of the Siege of the Peking Legations had already been published by 1909, Gilson perhaps wanted to focus on the 'other' (less well-known story) of the Boxer catastrophe. *The Lost Column* investigates the effects of the Boxer Uprising on one merchant family in Tianjin, the Milton Woods, and a group of their friends. Like Rex, Gilson's hero, eighteen-year-old Gerald, who lives in Milton Towers with his brother, mother, and guardian Mr. Pannick, is agile, athletic, chivalric, clever, dutiful, generous, honest, modest, self-sacrificial, and has excellent language skills.[70] At the beginning of the novel, Gerald fights some Boxers, warns his family and friends (Dr. Raydon and Jack Carter) of their coming, and protects Milton Towers against the Boxer attacks, only to witness it burn down a few days later. Further, he attempts to find Admiral Seymour's lost column and seeks help from his friend Mr. Wang, 'the cleverest detective in the world', to disguise him as a peasant from Gansu (*LC* 174). Mr. Wang, who 'scented' the Boxer trouble in north China all the way from Shanghai, predicts '[m]urder and massacre and war' and tries to persuade Gerald to give up his quest (*LC* 160). However, because Gerald is determined to accomplish his task, Mr. Wang keeps an

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[68] 'The Bookman Christmas: The Lost Column', *Bookman*, 35.207 (1908), 56-57.

[69] Gilson's coverage of the Siege of the Legations only occupies three pages. See pages 365-67 of *The Lost Column*.

[70] Gerald Wood was raised by a Chinese nurse and educated by an English governess. Regarding his Chinese skills, Rex explains to his friend, 'I can write the ordinary Chinese, but not the language of the literati class; that is entirely different, and the ordinary Chinaman has no more knowledge of it than I have. I believe that it contains twenty thousand different characters, and it is very doubtful if even the most learned Chinaman understands them all. Even the popular language is scarcely understood in all parts of China. The dialects differ as much as some of the English dialects, and the native of the Northern Provinces has the greatest difficulty in conversing with a man from the South' (*WAP* 15).

eye on him and saves him in perilous situations: once from an opium den and the other from the formidable Jugatai, a descendent of Tulwi, the son of Jenghiz Khan, who is head of the Secret Society of Federated Asia, which aims to 'sweep the eastern world of the white vermin' by combining forces with Japan, 'India, Burmah and the Malay' (*LC* 206; 292).[71] Later, Gerald, like Rex, acts as an interpreter and delivers a despatch for Seymour after the capture of the Western Arsenal. As in the case of Rex, men also praise Gerald: Mr. Wang comments that he has 'the makings of the general' in him and another character claims that 'if [Gerald] had been in the service [he] would have got a V. C.' (*LC* 301; 323). Although Gerald is not awarded a V. C., his name appears on the list of honours published in the *London Gazette*: 'the names of two civilians figured there with very unusual prominence: the one was that of a gentleman who had ridden to the Taku Forts with the news that Tientsin wanted help, and the other was Francis Gerald Milton Wood' (*LC* 358-59).[72] After the Boxer trouble is quelled, Gerald prepares to build a new house in this 'strange land they had learnt to call their own' (*LC* 379). Before analysing Henty and Gilson's novels, I will first point out how previous critics have approached the two books from a position that is less attuned to the nuances of the texts.

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[71] Both Tului (Tule) and Jagatai were sons of Genghis Khan. Gilson possibly based Jugatai on Sherlock Holmes's nemesis Professor James Moriarty, who has been described as the 'Napoleon of Crime' in 'The Final Problem' (1893), because Mr. Wang worries that Jugatai 'might prove himself the Napoleon of the East': Gilson, 'Through the Boxer Lines', 704. Jugatai, who is 'many inches taller than the average Chinese', has 'broad and square' shoulders, a 'finely chiseled' aquiline nose, and 'penetrating' coal-black eyes, anticipates the 'tall, lean and feline, high-shouldered' Fu Manchu, who was created in 1912/13 as the 'the great and evil man who dreamed of Europe and America under Chinese rule'— 'the yellow peril incarnate': Gilson, *The Lost Column*, p. 189; Sax Rohmer, *The Insidious Dr. Fu-Manchu: Being a Somewhat Detailed Account of the Amazing Adventures of Nayland Smith in His Trailing of the Sinister Chinaman* ([n.p.]: McBride, Nast, 1913), pp. 25-26; Sax Rohmer, *The Return of Dr. Fu-Manchu* (New York: Burt, 1916), p. 39.

[72] The unnamed gentleman Gilson refers to is James Watts, a twenty-two-year-old English volunteer who, with three Cossacks, started out from Tianjin at night, riding for twelve hours to the Dagu Forts with despatches requesting relief troops to be sent to help the besieged Tianjin concessions. His brave act is commended in *From Tientsin to Peking with the Allied Forces*, *China and the Allies*, *China in Convulsion*, and *China and the Powers*. The authors of these books praise his heroism, comprehensive knowledge of China, his 'pluck', and horsemanship. See Brown, *From Tientsin to Peking with the Allied Forces*, p. 33; Arnold Henry Savage Landor, *China and the Allies*, 2 vols (London: Heinemann, 1901), I, p. 160; Arthur Henderson Smith, *China in Convulsion* (Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1901), pp. 437-38; Thomson, *China and the Powers*, pp. 36-37.

With the Allies to Pekin is the subject of one chapter in Lin Dong Ning's Ph.D. dissertation 'Power and Representation in Victorian Discourse on China'. Lin argues that although Ah Lo 'receives the patronage of the honourable English schoolboy and proto-colonialist' because of his 'desirable behaviour', 'the master of the situation' is Rex.[73] However, this interpretation, which is characteristic of a postcolonial viewpoint, is overturned when one examines the relationship between the two more closely. Rather than being a silenced passive servant who blindly follows his master's orders, 'intelligent' Ah Lo often discusses his ideas with Rex. Contrary to Gerald, who 'had bred a wholesome British contempt for the Chinese', Rex is good friends with Ah Lo and values his opinions.[74] For example, when planning to rescue Rex's cousins, Ah Lo, after analysing the situation carefully, suggests that they first head north and provides sound reasoning for doing so. Knowing that Chinese women do not travel about, he also persuades Rex to disguise the girls as boys to avoid arousing suspicion. In addition, he weaves a story that gives them an excuse to travel to Peking: if anyone asks why they are going there, they should answer that they want to enlist in the Chinese army and that the 'boys' are going to seek employment. Ah Lo even anticipates that they will be questioned about their guns and provides a credible story about how they obtained them. Rex accepts all of the suggestions and praises Ah Lo's 'good plan'. Although Ah Lo is thanked for his role in helping Rex to safety, he rejects the praises and contests that it was Rex who carried him through because 'He always told me what to do; I did just so and it came out all right' (*WAP* 79). Readers can easily see that this false statement simply reflects Ah Lo's humility. Rex, confident that Ah Lo 'would go through fire and water' for him, claims that he would trust himself 'anywhere with

[73] Lin, 'Power and Representation', pp. 179-80.
[74] Henty, *With the Allies to Pekin*, p. 2; Gilson, *The Lost Column*, p. 33.

him' and confides that he has become so accustomed to Ah Lo's company that 'I really don't know what I should do without him' (*WAP* 318). In a way, Ah Lo is like Ching-Ching because he is a faithful and loyal friend, reflecting the importance of this trope in children's fiction. The closeness between Rex and Ah Lo is an example of a cross-cultural friendship that transcends the boundaries of a traditional master-servant relationship.

According to Robert H. MacDonald, 'The motif of the Anglo-Saxon hero disguised as a beggar, a Turk, an African, runs through Victorian and Edwardian adventure stories; the Englishman transformed himself into the other and back again in time for tea; there was no tongue he could not command, no gesture or custom outside his knowledge'.[75] Ross G. Forman makes similar observations about British adventure story heroes employing disguises to successfully pass as Chinese in Boxer stories. In 'Peking Plots', he discusses both *With the Allies to Pekin* and *The Lost Column*, asserting that 'Chinese disguise is always in the costume of a coolie, never a mandarin'.[76] While this may be true in most cases, it does not apply to Gerald because one of his disguises is that of 'a well-to-do young Chinaman of the upper class' (*LC* 298). Secondly, Forman argues that the boys in the Boxer novels are able to pass as Chinese because they 'possess feminine traits often assigned to the Chinese male'.[77] However, Gerald is *not* always able to successfully pass as Chinese: Jugatai sees through his disguise. When asked how he knew Gerald was not Chinese, Jugatai replies, 'A Chinaman, equally tired, would have slept through a thunderstorm on a heap of broken bones. But you could not, you were not able—

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[75] Robert H. MacDonald, *The Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism, 1880-1918* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 32-33.
[76] Forman, 'Peking Plots', 28.
[77] Forman, 'Peking Plots', 30.

because the wall was hard' (*LC* 226).[78] Forman's analysis fails to note the distinction between Henty's and Gilson's attitudes towards disguise and overlooks the differences in Gerald's various disguises. Whereas Henty's Rex was absolutely confident in the impenetrability of his disguises, Gilson's Gerald realizes that no matter how brilliant the disguise in terms of transforming his physical appearance, 'passing' as Chinese is impossible when people like Jugatai are watching. Before meeting Jugatai, Gerald had been certain that he would be able to pass as Chinese because he was born in China and spoke Chinese since childhood. He was able to persuade the British naval captain to allow him to go search for Seymour's lost column based on the claim that he 'understands the customs' and knows 'the manners' of the Chinese (*LC* 152). Gerald believed that his knowledge, coupled with Mr. Wang's disguise, would certainly be enough to give him the 'invisibility' to traverse undetected among the Chinese enemies. However, unlike Lyu's father Mr. Richardson, who successfully passed as Chinese to gain crucial information about his son's whereabouts, Gerald is unable to carry out his plan smoothly.

In addition, when Mr. Pannick attempts to disguise himself as 'a respectable Chinaman of the lower working class', the narrator states that 'no one could possibly ever mistake him as such'—he was still Mr. Pannick, 'disfigured but not disguised' (*LC* 77). Because Mr. Pannick is a comic relief character, this incident is meant to be humorous, but the fact that his disguise is a complete failure suggests that the racial

[78] In 1892, an article in *Young England* commented on the Chinese ability to sleep anywhere: 'Generally speaking, he is able to sleep anywhere. None of the trifling disturbances which drive us to despair annoy him. With a brick for a pillow, he can lie down on his bed of stalks, or mud bricks or rattan, and sleep the sleep of the just, with no reference to the rest of creation': 'Chinese Absence of Nerves', *Young England*, 13 (1892), 336. The author of the article acknowledged that his source was *Chinese Characteristics*. The book, written by Arthur Smith (1845-1932), became one of the five most read books on China among foreigners living in China. According to Hayford, it was still popular as late as the 1920s. See Charles W. Hayford, 'Chinese and American Characteristics: Arthur H. Smith and His China Book', in *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Writings*, ed. by Suzanne Wilson and John King Fairbank (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 154-74 (p. 154).

differences between the British and the Chinese have become insurmountable. Through the characters of Mr. Pannick and Gerald, Gilson questions the trope of disguise so frequently employed by adventure story writers. The fact that his characters' disguises are not foolproof signifies an important change in writers' attitudes towards adventure-story conventions. Because he witnessed the repercussions of the Boxer Uprising while stationed in China not long after the conflict, it is not surprising that Gilson provides a darker version of events in *The Lost Column*. The result is a striking contrast to *With the Allies to Pekin* which exhibits confidence and optimism about Britain's ability to defeat the Chinese and uphold 'justice' in a turbulent area of the world. Although the Boxer narratives have much in common, there are subtle differences between the adventure stories that should be pointed out and not glossed over in an attempt to fit all the books neatly into the same category. The next section will consider how differences in the works that authors consulted affected the portrayal of those involved in the Boxer Uprising.

'Good' History?: Historical Accuracy and the Boxer novels

G. A. Henty claimed that he aimed to 'write good history' and insisted that all of it 'be absolutely unassailable'.[79] One of the strategies he used to give the semblance of unassailable history was through the use of peri-textual material such as the preface in which he specifies his sources. In addition, he cites many statistics and dates throughout the novel to lend a gloss of objectivity, to demonstrate that he has rigorously researched his topic, and to show his stringent adherence to 'facts', perhaps not so much because he wanted readers to remember them, but to reassure parents that their children were being properly educated through fiction. To bolster his claim to fidelity to historical fact, Henty revealed in 'Writing Books for Boys' that he 'equipped' himself for writing by first consulting atlases and encyclopedias

[79] Henty, 'How Boys' Books Are Written', 8-10. Quoted in Arnold, *Held Fast for England*, p. 89.

for basic information about a country, then receiving ten books from a London library, glancing through them, selecting two that would suit his purpose, and sending for another batch until he gained all the information he needed.[80] However, scholars have criticized his uncritical use of sources, inaccurate historical details, and his frequent near plagiarism of texts.[81]

According to David Gunby, over one third of *With the Allies to Pekin* is culled from various sources, including newspapers such as *The Times*, and three of Henty's acknowledged sources: Roland Allen's *The Siege of the Peking Legations* (1901), H. C. Thomson's *China and the Powers* (1902), and George Lynch's *The War of the Civilisations* (1901).[82] These sources were tapped by Henty to incorporate mini-history lessons into novel. Because these lengthy paragraphs punctuate the narrative with digressions that do not advance the plot, they aptly fit into the 'thick chunks of history' category that William Bryce referred to when he described Henty's late historical fiction as being 'like a plate of badly-made sandwiches, and the thin streaks of adventure representing the slices of meat, and the thick chunks of history the all too hefty slices of bread'.[83] Henty created contrived dialogues to achieve his goal of educating his readers on all the major events of the Boxer Uprising. For example, Rex asks midshipman Robinson for a description of the capture of the Dagu forts, Major Johnson for an update on Seymour's column, and Mr. Sandwich for information on what occurred in the Legations during his absence. To enhance the reliability of his accounts, Sandwich, who is an interpreter, informs Rex, 'I have

[80] Henty, 'Writing Books for Boys', 105.
[81] Arnold, *Held Fast for England*, p. 89; Huttenback, 'G. A. Henty', 64.
[82] Allen, *The Siege of the Legations*; H. C. Thomson, *China and the Powers: A Narrative of the Outbreak of 1900* (London: Longmans, Green, 1902); George Lynch, *The War of the Civilisations: Being the Record of a Foreign Devil's Experiences with the Allies in China* (London: Longmans, Green, 1901). Gunby found Henty's information on 'the two relief expeditions, the assault on Tientsin and the capture of the Taku Forts' all come from articles in *The Times* such as 'Admiral Seymour's Despatch' printed in 6 September 1900. See Gunby, 'Henty and the Boxers', 3-4.
[83] William A. Bryce, *Half-Hours with Famous Writers for Boys* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton, [1935]), p. 57.

kept a journal ever since the siege began, so that I can tell you how everything was done in its right order' (*WAP* 318). This reference to a journal links the information provided by Sandwich to Allen's diary entries in *The Siege of the Peking Legations*, which were checked by the writer against the 'scanty accounts or depatches already made public' to ensure accuracy.[84]

While the number of Boxer accounts might have been 'scanty' in 1901, by 1909, much more information on the Uprising had been made public. With so many books on Chinese history and the Uprising available to Gilson at this point, it is interesting that he chose a general reference book, *The Historian's History of the World* (1904) as his source for the background chapter which outlines the events leading up to the Boxer movement.[85] Titled 'What the Shrieking Madness Is', Chapter Three of *The Lost Column* is the only place where readers will find a Chinese 'history lesson'. The narrator first recounts the overthrowing of the Ming dynasty by the 'Tartans [*sic*]', then focuses on Guangxu's accession to the throne in 1875 and the rising of the Empress Dowager to absolute power (*LC* 42).[86] Although the Emperor and some reformers such as Kang-Yu Wei [*sic*, Kang Youwei] and Chang Yihuan [Zhang Yinhuan] tried to 'revolutionize the land' through 'Reform Edicts', they ultimately failed because the Empress Dowager, Prince Duan, and others suppressed them. Kang Youwei (1858-1927), known as 'the Modern Sage', managed to escape from the Empress Dowager on the night of 20 September 1898, when she surrounded the palace with soldiers and captured Guangxu, but others

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[84] Allen, *The Siege of the Legations*, p. viii.
[85] Unlike Henty, Gilson did not specify his sources in *The Lost Column*. Comparing sections of Chapter Three of Gilson's book with Volume 24 of *The Historians History of the World*, we can see that Gilson 'borrowed' his information about Chinese history from it. Perhaps he thought the history book was more reliable because the title 'historian's history' sounded authoritative.
[86] See Henry Smith Williams, ed., *The Historians History of the World Volume XXIV Poland the Balkans, Turkey Minor Eastern States China Japan*, 25 vols (London: The History Association, 1904), XXIV, p. 552. Williams was a medical doctor.

were not so lucky (*LC* 44).[87]

While Henty consulted Thomson's *China and the Powers* for information on the Sieges of Tianjin, Gilson relied on Charles Cabry Dix's *The World's Navies in the Boxer Rebellion (China 1900)* (1905).[88] Dix's book was advertised in *The Times* with quotes from positive reviews in the *Glasgow Herald, Daily Mail, Evening Standard*, and *Graphic*, such as this assertion from the *Glasgow Herald*: 'The narrative is exceptionally valuable, for in its major part it is a statement of first-hand evidence, the writer himself having been actively engaged in the campaign he describes'.[89] Although Dix experienced the Boxer Uprising firsthand, he writes in his preface that the book 'has no claim to be historical, but rather to be interesting and anecdotal', downplaying his authority as an eyewitness.[90] However, Gilson probably regarded the information Dix provided as fact and incorporated them into his novel.

What 'facts' about the Boxer Uprising are presented in these stories? Is the complexity of the politics surrounding this event reflected in the texts? The name of the Boxer organization varies in different children's stories, ranging from the 'Society of Boxers', 'Harmonic Heavenly Fisters', to 'I-ho-Ch'uan [Yihequan] or

[87] According to *The Historian's History of the World*: 'Chief amongst these reformers was Kang Yu-wei, a Cantonese, whose scholarly attainments, combined with novel teachings, earned for him from his followers the title of the "modern sage"': Williams, ed., *The Historians History of the World Volume XXXIV*, p. 565. *The Fortnightly Review* published 'Kang Yu-wei's Open Letters to the Powers' in 1901. For more information on Kang Youwei, see Jung-pang Lo, ed., *K'ang Yu-Wei: A Biography and a Symposium* (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1967). According to Williams, 'During the night of the 20th of September [1898] the palace of the emperor was occupied by the soldiers, and on the following day Kwang Su, who was hence-forth virtually a prisoner in the hands of the empress, was made to issue an edict restoring her regency. Kang Yu-wei, warned at the last moment by an urgent message from the emperor, succeeded in escaping, but many of the most prominent reformers were arrested, and six of them were promptly executed': Williams, ed., *The Historians History of the World Volume XXXIV*, p. 566. Zhang Yinhuan (1837-1900) served as China's minister to the United States.
[88] Gilson's descriptions from pages 325-326 correspond with the information provided by Dix in *The World's Navies*. See Charles Cabry Dix, *The World's Navies in the Boxer Rebellion (China 1900)* (London: Digby, Long, 1905), pp. 71-73.
[89] 'The Times List of New Books and New Editions', *The Times*, 31 May 1905, p. 8.
[90] Dix, *The World's Navies*, p. vii.

Fist of Righteous Harmony Society'.[91] The first time Gerald encounters the Boxers from Shandong, he notices that they were of the 'coolie, or peasant, class', and wore blue with 'red sashes and ankle bands' (*LC* 52).[92] These Boxers, estimated at a hundred in number, carried a 'great red, triangular flag' with black Chinese characters 'I-HO-CHUAN: *We defend with the fist*', 'brandished their weapons in the air', and had eyes 'fierce and bright with the mania to kill' (*LC* 52; 53). Gilson employs the language of nineteenth-century 'racial science' and ethnography to describe the Boxers: they have 'low, receding foreheads' and 'the cruel, cunning, slanting eyes and the high, bony cheekbones of all the Mongol breed' which echoes the discussion between Montval and St. Kassian in Anne Bowman's *The Travels of Rolando* discussed in Chapter Two (*LC* 52). However, whereas Montval associates low foreheads with the Ethiopians, Gilson has allocated this description to the Mongolians. He does not point out the distinction between the ruling Manchus and the Boxers who were mostly Han Chinese.

According to Henty's Mr. Bateman, the Boxers originated from a sect similar to 'our own freemasonry' about two hundred years ago (*WAP* 30).[93] Members of this group 'performed certain rites and certain exercises in a secret sort of way', and did not have any 'political aims'. However, the Boxer movement soon 'spread like wildfire' and turned into 'an active, militant, and in a certain sense a national

[91] The *Shanghai Mercury* reports also use the term I-ho-Ch'uan but translates it as 'Righteous Harmony Fists'. See *The Boxer Rising; a History of the Boxer Trouble in China. Reprinted from The 'Shanghai Mercury'*, repr. edn (New York: Paragon, 1967), p. i.
[92] Cohen points out that the Boxers were imitating martial arts performers who frequently performed in villages by dressing in either 'red turbans, sashes, and leggings (or ankle straps)' or 'yellow' outfits: Cohen, *History in Three Keys*, p. 39.
[93] W. A. P. Martin also mentions that the Boxers are 'a kind of Masonic order, which attracted the attention of the Government more than a century ago': William Alexander Parsons Martin, *The Siege in Peking: China against the World* (Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1900), p. 60. For more information on the origins of the Boxer Uprising, see *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, a highly regarded and frequently cited work which explores the Shandong localities where the Boxer movement originated and analyses the reasons for the Uprising: Joseph W. Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). See also Ch'un-lin T'an, *The Boxer Catastrophe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955); Peter Fleming, *The Siege at Peking* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1983).

movement, directed principally against foreigners, but also against the corruption of the Chinese Court and the terrible condition of the people in general' (*WAP* 30). The 'terrible condition of the people' is described in one of the Boxer proclamations which states that

> the whole populace is sunk in wretchedness, and that all the officials are spoilers of their food. The condition of the Yamen is unspeakable. In every market and in every guild nothing can be done unless the officials are bribed. All sorts of exactions are made. They are all alike; ill-gotten wealth is their one object; right has disappeared from the world, and sins are unnumbered. In the Yamens it is of no avail to have a clear case; unless you bribe, you will lose the day. All this is unquestionably true. (*WAP* 30)[94]

Gilson and Henty attempt to provide some reasons for the Chinese loathing of foreigners and Chinese Christians. According to Gilson, because the secret society in China has always been an 'outlet for discontent', the 'Society of the Fist of Righteous Harmony' is a 'brotherhood that has the power to bring the shrieking madness to life' (*LC* 45). The society is bonded together because of 'a common grievance': the interfering Europeans, who forced themselves 'upon a country that had done well enough without him for forty centuries' (*LC* 40; 146). These people used six-inch guns to force China to 'accept the mushroom civilization of a day'. It is very hard for the Chinese to accept this, because when 'Europe was wild and barbarous and dark', the Chinese 'had their own learning, their own customs, history and civilization'. Therefore, Gilson writes 'there was reason and justice enough in all they said' (*LC* 146-47).[95]

Similarly, Henty's Mr. Bateman feels 'no personal animosity towards the

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[94] Henty derives this from Thomson's *China and the Powers*. Thomson quotes this proclamation from the Japan 'Daily Mail': 'The whole populace is sunk in wretchedness, and all the officials are spoilers of their food. The condition of the Yamens is unspeakable. In every market and in every guild nothing can be done unless money be spent. The officials must be bribed. All sorts of exactions are made. These officials are full of schemes, none of which are in accordance with the three principles [...]'. Thomson, *China and the Powers*, pp. 203-04.

[95] He makes a similar point earlier when he writes 'When England was inhabited by the little black-haired Celt [...] when one half of our land was forest and the other half was marsh, and the inhabitants were in about the same stage of civilization as the Australian native is to-day—then the Chinese were a highly civilized and cultured race' (*LC* 38).

Chinese', because he thinks that the British have 'given them ample grounds for endeavouring to get rid of us' (*WAP* 84). This sentiment echoes the thoughts expressed by H. C. Thomson in his preface to *China and the Powers* where he states that he has tried to present 'the Chinese view of the different matters in dispute equally with that of the Powers' because he believes that the Boxer tragedy was not fully caused by one side.[96] According to Rex's father, the Opium War, the opening of the treaty ports, and missionary abuse of power all contributed to the Chinese people's 'ingrained hatred of foreigners' (*WAP* 82).[97] One of the reasons for the Boxer hatred of the Chinese Roman Catholics and Protestants can be found in one of their proclamations, which announces that the foreigners, 'being most cunning [...] have attracted all the greedy and covetous as converts, and to an unlimited degree they have practised oppression' (*WAP* 30).[98] While both Henty and Serjeant consulted Allen's *The Siege of the Peking Legations*, Serjeant portrayed the missionaries sympathetically while Henty presented them in a more negative light. Mr. Bateman places blame on the French missionaries in particular, especially the 'French bishops who insist on being granted the rank of mandarins and the power to judge over native converts, who are protected by the foreign missionaries' (*WAP* 30).[99] Henty also includes criticism of missionary participation in looting later in the novel. A character comments that missionaries felt that selling the looted objects would finance the chapels and mission-houses that had been destroyed. However, these actions directly defied the treaty that forbade 'the ill-treatment of private

[96] Thomson, *China and the Powers*, p. vi.
[97] Arnold discusses the same passage in *Held Fast for England*, pp. 72-73.
[98] Henty also derives this from Thomson: 'Greater calamities still have overtaken the nation. Foreign devils come with their teaching, and converts to Christianity, Roman Catholics and Protestants, have become numerous. These are without human relations, but being most cunning they have contracted all the greedy and covetous as converts, and to an unlimited degree they have practised oppression until every good official has been corrupted, and, covetous of foreign wealth, has become their servant': Thomson, *China and the Powers*, p. 204.
[99] Compare with Thomson, *China and the Powers*, p. 5.

persons, the forcible entry into their houses, [and] the taking of their goods' (*WAP* 343).[100] Despite being critical of certain missionary activities, Henty also quotes Mgr. Favier's description of the great suffering of the Christians in the Northern Cathedral: 'The suffering was so great that one has to go back to the siege of Leyden for a parallel. The defenders, when relief arrived, were almost skeletons, living spectres scarce able to drag themselves along [...]' (*WAP* 335).[101] These different perspectives illustrate Henty's ambivalent attitude towards the missionaries.

Gail S. Clark remarks in 'Imperial Stereotypes: G. A. Henty and the Boys' Own Empire' that while Henty's racial stereotypes are trite and his descriptions of race reflect the superior attitudes held by Anglo-Saxons, this does those not mean that he did not make distinctions between racial and national groups.[102] In *With the Allies to Pekin*, two national groups are portrayed in a particularly negative light: the Germans and the Russians.[103] Most readers would have learned that the Boxer movement originated in Shandong province and was triggered by the murder of two German missionaries (Franz Nies and Richard Henle) and the subsequent German seizure of the port of Jiaozhou as compensation.[104] Rex's father claims that the Chinese reaction to the 'monstrous' seizing of Jiaozhou is understandable because it is a 'preposterous price to pay'. He also condemns the 'shocking' 'game of grab' that

[100] Henty is referring to the Hague Conventions of 1898 and 1899.
[101] Favier was Vicar Apostolic of the Roman Catholic Mission at Peking.
[102] Gail S. Clark, 'Imperial Stereotypes: G. A. Henty and the Boys' Own Empire', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 18.4 (1985), 43-51.
[103] The Russians are presented as being 'far more desirous of getting political advantages out of the situation than of reaching the Legations' (242). Henty places blame on the Russians for causing desolation and despair, they are portrayed as 'the worst'—ruthless in killing everyone, regardless of whether they were soldiers or peasants, 'looting rapine', and other 'atrocities committed upon the unfortunate inhabitants'. He also writes the Russians 'want to have everything their own way, and the general opinion is that they are fighting only for their own advantage, and that they are bent upon the destruction of Tientsin and the practical annihilation of the trade of the place, in order to divert the whole of the trade of the north-west to Port Arthur': Henty, *With the Allies to Pekin*, pp. 299; 337; 283. For more about the Anglo-Russian rivalry, see Knüsel, '"Western Civilization"', 46.
[104] In *The Dragon of Pekin*, Duncan tells his friends that a missionary named Brooks has been murdered in Shandong. Brereton, *The Dragon of Pekin*, p. 55.

the Powers are engaged in (*WAP* 28; 83).[105] The scramble for China is also mentioned in Chapter Three of *The Lost Column*. The narrator attributes the defeat of 'the old mildewed Dragon' by Japan in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) to China's incompetence due to 'corruption' and effeteness rendered by 'the rust of endless time' (*LC* 43).[106] Other countries scrambled to take over parts of China after they saw that the country 'was falling to pieces at last [...] all Europe was going to be there to pick up as much as she could' (*LC* 29).

In explaining the incident that triggered the Siege of the Peking Legations, many authors condemned the murder of Baron von Kettler, the German Minister. However, Henty writes that 'the affair was in one respect a most fortunate one, for it showed the Ministers how critical their position was' and ended the apathy in the Legations (*WAP* 118). Rex does not seem to be saddened by the loss of Baron von Kettler and explains to his cousins: 'The murder of the German Minister was the very best thing that could happen to us, for it opened the eyes of all the others, and showed them that the Chinese were, as everyone else knew, wholly untrustworthy'

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[105] Lanxin Xiang notes that among the multinational sources on the Boxer Uprising, there is one thing they have in common: 'the belief in the inevitability of the Boxer War: the Boxers initiated the War, the Manchu Court conservatives wanted to start the war and the imperialistic competition led to the war'. Xiang groups the hypotheses behind the Boxer War into three categories: the most popular being the 'clash of civilizations', while the second places the blame 'squarely on the Christian missionaries and diplomats', and the third focuses on imperialism and 'scramble for China': Lanxin Xiang, *The Origins of the Boxer War: A Multinational Study* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), p. x. Brereton alludes to the scramble for China when one character explains that in order to 'make their spheres of influence equal' after Germany seized Kiaochow (Jiaozhou), 'Britain, France, and Russia took Wei-hai-wei, Kwangchau, and Port Arthur respectively': Brereton, *The Dragon of Pekin*, p. 56.

[106] One of Henty's characters notes that during this war, the Chinese received 'tremendous thrashings' from 'the Japs' (21). The Japanese troops are commended for their bravery and good leadership. While working as an interpreter for the Japanese, Rex, who thinks they are as 'plucky as lions', did not have much to do because the 'Japanese arrangements were all so perfect, the men so quick and handy' (244). Gilson also paints a picture of the happy Japanese. In *The Lost Column*, the Japanese are 'thick-legged, happy, little men, who knew nothing of either fatigue or fear, who failed no one, and turned their backs on none': Henty, *With the Allies to Pekin*, p. 306; Gilson, *The Lost Column*, p. 361. Rex acknowledges that the Chinese had pluck, but were defeated by the Japanese because they were well disciplined, while the Chinese had no discipline at all. It is not surprising that the Japanese are presented in a positive light because one of Henty's sources, Allen's *The Siege of the Peking Legations* portrays the Japanese positively: a reviewer finds Allen's 'testimony to the pluck and gratitude of the Japanese wounded' especially touching: 'Allen's (Rev. Roland) the Siege of the Pekin Legations', 441.

(*WAP* 121). This statement implies the superiority of the British in being able to recognize before everyone else the untrustworthy nature of the Chinese.

While Germany's territorial ambitions are denounced by Mr. Bateman, Britain's own economic activities in China are supported by Ah Lo, who explains to his father that the British are 'great traders' who only fight when 'their trade is interfered with' (*WAP* 51).[107] In using the character of Ah Lo to voice support for British trade interests, Henty utilizes the same technique that Bowman and Mossman did in their novels, where Chinese characters are portrayed as being advocates for increasing Sino-British trade relations. Thus, Henty embeds his critique of the Powers within a narrative that endorses the superiority of British.

While Henty presents a more realistic portrait of countries interested in protecting their trade and territorial strongholds on China, Gilson rewrites history, however, changing the troubled reality into a rosy-picture of unity and communal solidarity.[108] Although Henty writes that there are 'all sorts of bickerings and jealousies' between the international forces, deploring the conduct of Russian, Belgian, German, and French soldiers, Gilson presents a contrary view, stating that 'past rivalries' between the nations were 'forgotten in one great common cause—Humanity' (*WAP* 242; 283; 97; 338; *LC* 362). The difference in the depiction of the international forces and racial politics may be attributed to the sources that the authors consulted. H. C. Thomson, one of Henty's sources, mentions that 'the force

[107] Forman notes that Henty 'masterfully juxtaposes' Bateman's explaining 'the suffering of the poor Chinese with his servant Ah Lo's later explanation (after the Rebellion has broken out) to his own parents that the English want to trade, not fight, and have had their motivations misunderstood. This curious role reversal — in which the Englishman articulates a partial defense of the Boxers' conduct (albeit prior to the start of the Uprising) and the Chinaman a defense of informal British colonization — allows for a complex form of identification to occur that locates anti-foreign violence in ignorance and propaganda and types the Chinese as essentially pro-British, if not pro-European': Forman, 'Peking Plots', 35.

[108] The 'discord among the Allies and great power rivalry' is also apparent in British, American, French, German, Russian, and Japanese cartoons that appeared the media in 1900. See Jane E. Elliott, *Some did it for Civilisation, Some did it for Their Country: A Revised View of the Boxer War* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2002), pp. 289; 293.

was made up of bitterly jealous nationalities', while W. A. P. Martin, one of Gilson's sources, writes that the motive that compelled the Powers to 'bury their political animosities and unite in one expedition' is 'one word, Humanity'.[109] The tensions, rivalries, and jealousies that characterized the complex dynamics between the international powers are effaced by Gilson when he writes that the Russians, Americans, and British, who came 'together from the North and the East and the West', worked for a common cause—'humanity', which is 'what their enemies mostly lacked' (*LC* 152). He paints a portrait of the Allies being united in a strong bond when in reality the countries had difficulty agreeing on many things.

Throughout *The Lost Column*, the polarity between civilized and uncivilized, human and inhuman (at one point the narrator describes the enemies as 'inhuman foes'), rational and irrational, is constantly evoked. The shrieking madness of the Boxers, which dehumanizes them by implying a loss of rationality, is juxtaposed against the 'humanity' of the Allies. The narrator explains that although 'there was much to justify their [the Boxers'] wrath', there was 'nothing to excuse the ends to which it carried them' (*LC* 148; 147). These excessive 'ends' are the result of Boxer fanaticism and madness. In 1900, 'the shrieking madness could not long be stayed' because it had set the Boxers' 'brains on fire' (*LC* 54).

'Shrieking Madness' and Boxer Fanaticism

Sensational language is used throughout *The Lost Column*. Gilson's most often repeated phrase is 'shrieking madness', which generates a feeling of impending doom or tragedy. He links this madness to infection and disease: 'this old same

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[109] Thomson, *China and the Powers*, p. 20; Martin, *The Siege in Peking*, p. 14. Martin (1827-1916), an American missionary who witnessed the siege, was praised by Stanley Smith as 'one of the most learned men in China': Stanley Peregrine Smith, *China from Within; or, the Story of the Chinese Crisis*, 2nd edn (London: Marshall Brothers, [1901]), p. 114. Martin was President of Tungwen College before serving as President of the Chinese Imperial University. Chapter Twenty-Eight of *The Lost Column* is called 'Te Deum Laudamus' which is also mentioned in Martin's book: 'The morning of our deliverance he grasped my hand, and, looking up with streaming eyes, exclaimed: "Te Deum, Te Deum, Laudamus"': Martin, *The Siege in Peking*, p. 108.

madness has spread across the paddy fields and laid hold upon the people like the plague, spreading infection, until whole provinces are up in arms and crying out for revenge' (*LC* 41). Although there have been times of peace in China, the narrator claims, 'the germ of the shrieking madness is always there', and all through the 'four thousand years of civilization' China has frequently 'been devastated and the soil dyed with the blood of scores of millions whom the shrieking madness has seized' (*LC* 41). Thus, Gilson presents the idea of an essential Chinese 'madness' that transcends history and lies dormant until something triggers it.

To demonstrate that 'the madness had taken root', Gilson cites reports that at 'Yung-ching, in the same province as Tientsin, two English missionaries were murdered brutally; at Tung Chow there was a wholesale massacre' (*LC* 131).[110] Earlier in the novel, he describes the 'shrieking madness' taking a hundred Chinamen by the throats, and 'howls of rage and death' could be heard when Boxers appeared (*LC* 75; 82). Whereas the predominant rhetorical feature in *The Lost Column* is 'shrieking madness', this trope is not so evident in *With the Allies to Pekin*. Only once does the theme of madness appear, when Rex states that the Chinese 'seem to go mad' and 'take up swords and muskets [...] and blindly fall upon the whites' because they hear '[h]ideous stories [...] that they [the whites] have killed and eaten children or sacrificed them in some terrible way' (*WAP* 14).[111] The Boxers in Gilson's novel are never deemed courageous, but Henty describes

[110] His source of information is Dix, *The World's Navies*, pp. 14-17. Dix describes the Yung-Ching murders in more detail, explaining that a missionary named Mr. Norman tried to escape after the 'murder of his fellow missionary at Yung-Ching' but was taken prisoner and 'done to death in a manner only to be conjectured': *The World's Navies*, pp. 14-15. For more information on Norman and Robertson, see Beals, *China and the Boxers*, pp. 38-39. While Gilson refers to 'wholesale massacre', Henty explains that seventy-five native Christians had been 'murdered at Tung Chau': Henty, *With the Allies to Pekin*, p. 81.

[111] The 'good' Chinese in Henty's novel, however, rationally dismiss these rumours. For example, Ah Lo's father asserts that unlike many villagers who believe in tales of foreigners stealing little children to sacrifice to their gods, he refutes these false stories.

them as showing 'great courage' and 'extreme bravery'.[112]

As Knüsel and others have pointed out, British accounts of the Boxer Uprising frequently portrayed the Boxers as people who have given their souls to demonic spirits. Both *The Times* and the *Daily Mail* dehumanized the Boxers in their reports, describing them as 'as diabolical, "demons in human form", and vermin'.[113] According to reports such as an article in the *Shanghai Mercury*, which describes Boxers being 'conducted by a "demonized" leader', these men acted as if possessed by the devil.[114] Occult power seemed to have taken hold of their bodies, and they were unable to control themselves. According to Xiang, the first reference in print to the 'Boxers' appeared in the *North China Herald* on 9 October 1899: 'A sect has risen whose only reason for existence is their hatred for foreigners and the foreign religion. For some occult reason they have taken the name of "Boxers", and last spring they tried to drive out the missionaries in Siaochang'.[115] The link between the Boxers and the occult can also be found in *China and the Allies*: 'At the attack on Tientsin city, after various incantations and sundry displays of occult powers, impressive to the minds of the ignorant and superstitious, these hordes of fanatics were let go against the foreign troops'.[116] Similarly, in *The Lost Column*, Gerald witnesses Boxers, led by men who possessed 'occult power', throwing themselves into 'a kind of trance' (which he was 'at a loss to understand') and when 'they came back from their self-inflicted faints, these men were like fiends incarnate. They sprang to their feet, shrieking oaths, and, with swords on high, rushed headlong through the streets, out of the gates and over the open plain' (*LC* 201).[117] They are

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[112] Henty, *With the Allies to Pekin*, pp. 98; 230; 268; 267.
[113] Knüsel, '"Western Civilization"', 61.
[114] *The Boxer Rising*, p. i. The same description appears in Beals, *China and the Boxers*, p. 11.
[115] Quoted in Xiang, *The Origins of the Boxer War*, p. 112.
[116] Landor, *China and the Allies*, I, p. 12.
[117] According to Martin, 'They profess certain mysteries of their own, such as hypnotism, and to this they owe the fascination which they exercise over the ignorant. Meeting with susceptible persons

'madmen' who seem to be 'possessed of almost supernatural strength' (*LC* 202). Gilson's description of the Boxer ceremony resembles Sir Robert Hart's report on the ritual where Boxers 'bow to the south-east, recite certain mystical sentences, and then, with closed eyes, fall on their backs ; after this they arise, eyes glazed and staring, possessed of the strength and agility of maniacs, mount trees and walls and wield swords and spears in a way they are unable to at other times'.[118] Just as the Thuggees in early nineteenth century India, known for murdering by strangulation, were represented as being changed by eating *goor* (consecrated sugar) during their rituals, the Boxers were portrayed as becoming fanatical after their incantations.[119] According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'fanatic' is defined thus: 'Such as might result from possession by a deity or demon'.[120] Therefore, it is not surprising that Gilson writes that the Chinese man has 'become the most merciless, most pitiless, most relentless fanatic in the world' (*LC* 41).

For Gerald Milton Wood, the Boxer presence is very real and their 'occult power' instils fear in him: 'the Boxers, with their haunting songs and threats, and weird, mystic ceremonies, chilled his blood and brought the cold moisture out in

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they employ as mediums, and through them in a state of trance they obtain communication from their gods': Martin, *The Siege in Peking*, p. 61.

[118] Robert Hart, *"These from the Land of Sinim": Essays on the Chinese Question* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1903), pp. 7-8.

[119] According to Edward Thornton, 'The effect of the consecrated sugar or goor is believed to be irresistible. Captain Sleeman, having reproached some of the fraternity on account of a murder marked by many ferocious and unmanly features, one of the party replied: "We all feel pity sometimes; but the goor of the Tuponee changes our nature: it would change the nature of a horse. Let any man once taste of that goor, and he will be a Thug, though he know all the trades and have all the wealth in the world. [...] My father made me taste of that fatal goor when I was yet a mere boy: and if I were to live a thousand years, I should never be able to follow any other trade"': Edward Thornton, *Illustrations of the History and Practices of the Thugs* (London: William H. Allen, 1837), p. 66. Kim A. Wagner points out that William Henry Sleeman (1788-1856), known for his role in eradicating the thugs and bandits of India, interpreted and constructed the thuggees as 'an ancient, ritualised and religious phenomenon' (152). However, 'Ordinary dacoits in nineteenth-century India, who were never assumed to be motivated by religious fervour, also held a *puja* before and after robberies and made votive offerings to a deity; yet nobody would suggest that they were religious fanatics who robbed and plundered as a means of worship to the goddess': Kim A. Wagner, *Thuggee: Banditry and the British in Early Nineteenth-Century India* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 151.

[120] 'Fanatic', *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, 2nd edn, 1989; online edn, <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 19 August 2009].

beads upon his brow' (*LC* 312). The song that Gerald hears 'called together the brothers of the Long Sword and those of the Fist of Righteous Harmony [...]. They would drive the barbarians into the ocean; and the tragic Sisters of the Red Lantern would bring up the rear to see that all were gone' (*LC* 200).[121] The Boxers have a nightmarish effect on him: 'it was all a nightmare, fearful and fantastical' (*LC* 202). Later, in an opium den, Gerald fell into a dreamy state of consciousness, 'wherein he saw all China swept by frenzied men, shouting for blood and brandishing naked arms' (*LC* 236). There are parallels between the rhetoric of hallucination that Gilson uses and discourses of the Indian Mutiny, because according to Christopher Herbert, 'the insistence on the dreamlike, fantastic, hallucinatory character of the events of the time' was a 'fundamental trope of Mutiny discourse in all its contemporary and later modalities'.[122]

Gerald is much more disturbed by the Boxers than Rex is. He feels like he was 'back at the birth of the Middle Ages: the rise of the Goths [...]' (*LC* 188). Compared to Gerald, Rex does not live in constant fear of death and does not anticipate any difficulty in carrying out his plans for helping the Allies against the Boxers. Similarly, one of the men in the Peking Legations claims confidently that 'I have not a shadow of fear that we shall not be able to beat off the Boxers and regular troops too'. In fact he is more 'afraid of hunger' than anything else (*WAP* 117). Although one of the British soldiers thinks that they will be able to defeat these

[121] The source for this song is Martin's *The Siege in Peking*: '"We, the brothers of the Long Sword, will lead the van; Our sisters of the Red Lantern will bring up the rear guard. Together, we will attack the barbarians, And drive them into the sea". Their designation of Brothers of the Long Sword is due to the patronage afforded them by Yu Hien [Yu Xian], a Manchu Governor, who, desiring to oppose the Germans in their railway enterprise, found the fittest instruments among these fanatical Boxers': Martin, *The Siege in Peking*, p. 63. For more information on the Red Lanterns, see Cohen, *History in Three Keys*, p. 138-145. In *China and the Powers*, the Long Swords are referred to as 'the "Ta-tao-hui", or "Great Sword", an association for the expulsion and extermination of foreigners': Thomson, *China and the Powers*, p. 5.
[122] Christopher Herbert, *War of No Pity: The Indian Mutiny and Victorian Trauma* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), p. 276.

'armed peasants' easily, Rex does not underestimate them and replies that he thinks it will be harder than expected (*WAP* 93). However, he is never frightened of the Boxers who, believing in their invulnerability, 'fight with fanatical fury', set fires, torture Christians, and loot villages (*WAP* 93). The incantations that the Boxers performed 'preparatory to murdering' are not described (*WAP* 115). Therefore even though the Boxers are labelled as fanatics by Henty, they are not as vividly depicted as such.

The Chinese phrase 'Tow Ah! Tow Ah!' which Gilson borrows from Dix, is repeated several times in the novel. Whenever the Boxers appear, Gerald could hear their cries of '"Tow Ah! Tow Ah!": "Kill the Christian!" "Kill the foreign devil"!' (*LC* 53).[123] As these chants reveal, the Boxers not only wish to kill foreigners, but also plan to murder Chinese Christians and anyone who sympathizes with the enemies. Gilson calculates that during June and July 1900, 'one hundred and thirty-three Protestant missionaries and forty-eight children, and over thirty thousand native Christians were ruthlessly put to the sword' (*LC* 131).[124] An infamous Chinese figure blamed for 'butchering' the missionaries and Chinese Christians is Yu Xian, the Governor of Shandong and later Shanxi. He reportedly supported the Boxers and armed the Long Sword Society.[125] Reports of the Shanxi massacres invariably refer to Yu Xian. According to Roger Thompson, this man has frequently been portrayed as a savage butcher who ruthlessly put to death several missionaries

[123] According to Dix, the Boxers 'just came on a trot yelling "Tow-ah!" "Tow-ah!" (Kill! Kill!) with a calm disregard of death which was as absurd as it was pathetic': Dix, *The World's Navies*, p. 75. Because it is uncertain whether the Boxers were speaking Mandarin Chinese or some other dialect, it is hard to pinpoint the exact meaning of this phrase. It might refer to 'tou ah'. 'Tou' means head and 'ah' is an expletive so in the context the best translation would probably be 'off with his head'. It could also mean 'tao' which means to eliminate or cleanse.
[124] The same information is given in Charles Henry Hamilton Wright and Charles Neil, *A Protestant Dictionary: Containing Articles on the History, Doctrines, and Practices of the Christian Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904).
[125] For more information on Yu Xian, see Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*, pp. 288-89 and Beals, *China and the Boxers*, pp. 13-16.

at the provincial capital Taiyuan with his own hand.[126] Thompson argues that Yu Xian exemplified an 'honorable "militant conservative"' position but became identified after the Boxer Uprising with 'nothing more than the rabid, superstitious, and irrational antiforeignism associated with the Boxers'.[127] Gilson includes a brief reference to the Taiyuan massacre and Yu Xian's role in the affair: 'in the archery-ground of his yamen the sanguinary governor, in his official robe and necklace, wreaked vengeance on his helpless victims with his own hand' (*LC* 131). The source for this description is an article in the *North China Herald* published on 17 October 1900:

> When the first batch of missionaries was brought to T'ai-yuan-fu [...] Yü Hsien ordered them to be brought straight into his yamen and taken to an archery ground in the rear, and then placed standing at a distance of a few feet from each other. The sanguinary Governor then took off his outer official robe and necklace, mounted a horse [...] turned his horse towards the victims [...]'.[128]

Thompson points out that in 1903 E. H. Edwards questioned the validity of reports such as the one Gilson relied on: 'the whole truth will probably never be known, but, from the inquiries made on the spot, it seems certain that the Governor did not assault any with his own hand'.[129] It is not clear whether Gilson read Edwards's book, but if he had, he still chose to portray Yu Xian as an odious murderer instead of sifting through the fabricated reports to find more accurate accounts of the Taiyuan massacre.[130] In doing so, he was contributing to the excitement of the

[126] Roger Thompson, 'Reporting the Taiyuan Massacre: Culture and Politics in the China War of 1900', in *The Boxers, China, and the World*, ed. by Robert Bickers and R. G. Tiedemann (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), pp. 65-92.
[127] Thompson, 'Reporting the Taiyuan Massacre', p. 82.
[128] Quoted in Smith, *China from Within*, p. 87.
[129] Edwards, *Fire and Sword in Shansi*, p. 72.
[130] In addition to Yu-Hsien, Gilson mentions another notorious figure who wanted to put Christians to the sword: Tung-Fu-Hsiang [Dong Fuxiang (1839-1908)] who was the commander of the Gansu army. While Henty merely mentions that in 'the course of the fight a banner was captured which belonged to the army of Tung-Fu-Hsiang' without explaining who Tung is, Gilson informs readers that the 'redoubtable' Tung-fu-Hsiang, 'a fat man, with a sour and sallow face', 'had ruthlessly massacred the Mohammedans and would gladly do the same for the Christian pigs': Henty, *With the Allies to Pekin*, p. 96; Gilson, *The Lost Column*, p. 183. According to Dix, 'Tung-fu-Hsiang, the general commanding the Kansu troops then in the district, had given out in public that he was only

narrative as well as being consistent with his emphasis on Chinese brutality.

Gerald's first encounter with the Boxers, in which 'one defenseless boy' is forced to defend himself against a 'mob', sets the pattern for later events in the novel (*LC* 55). It foreshadows the Boxer attack on Milton Towers where Gerald and his small group of loved ones try protect his home from the 'maddened, seething mob' and later Admiral Seymour's small group of soldiers fighting 'hordes' of Chinese (*LC* 107).[131] The image of Milton Towers being surrounded by an angry mob raging on every side of the stone garden walls can be seen as a symbol for a mini Peking Legations struggling to defend itself against barbarity and savagery. Dr. Raydon comments that they are 'a handful of Europeans in the midst of a race that is civilized with only a civilization of its own' facing a 'whole country' that was against them (*LC* 32). The fact that Milton Towers is described as 'nearly resembl[ing] a church' adds to the image of Christendom versus heathenism (*LC* 95). In addition, Midshipman Tite compares Gerald's task of trying to find Seymour's column to Daniel entering the den of roaring lions and notes that he would 'ten thousand times rather go into a lion's den than into the fuming, surging city' (*LC* 177). Also in keeping with Christian imagery, the narrator describes the Europeans

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waiting for orders from his superiors—meaning the Empress,--on receipt of which he would proceed to treat the foreigners in the same fashion as he had treated the unfortunate Mohammedans some four years previously [...]': Dix, *The World's Navies*, p. 16. According to Beals, Tung is 'the most anti-foreign general in the army, and the one who has done the most to foster the Boxer society': Beals, *China and the Boxers*, p. 41.

[131] According to Henty, there were 'nine hundred and fifteen British, three hundred and fifteen Germans, three hundred Russians, one hundred and fifty-eight French, one hundred and four Americans, fifty-two Japanese, forty Italians, and twenty-five Austrians' in Seymour's force, which is similar to Gilson's estimate of 'about 900 British, 450 Germans, 300 Russians, 150 French, 100 Americans, 50 Japanese, 40 Italians and 25 Austrians': Henty, *With the Allies to Pekin*, p. 95; Gilson, *The Lost Column*, p. 133. These numbers differ from H. C. Thomson's information: 'The relief force consisted- altogether of 1,945 men, made up as follows: 900 British (500 brought up by Sir E. Seymour and 400 under Commander Granville, drawn from the British sailors garrisoning Tientsin); 200 Germans; 200 Russians; 200 French; 200 Japanese; 120 Americans [...] 100 Italians and 25 Austrians, the whole being under the command of Sir Edward Seymour': Thomson, *China and the Powers*, p. 12. They also differ from the information provided by 'a U.S. Officer': 'Russians, 600; British, 500; Germans, 400; Americans, 200; Japanese, 150, and the balance between the Italians, French and Austrians': Beals, *China and the Boxers*, p. 43.

gathered 'like flocks of frightened sheep' in Tianjin, the Peking Legations, and the Beitang Roman Catholic Cathedral (*LC* 131).

Discourses of Violence in *With the Allies to Pekin* and *The Lost Column*

The interaction between the characters (both adult and child) and the Boxers in *With the Allies to Pekin* and *The Lost Column* is characterized by violent aggression. John Cech points out that violence in children's literature has existed since the emergence of early nursery rhymes and folktales, but the violence in the Boxer narratives seems to be particularly severe and excessive compared to earlier adventure stories set in China.[132] According to Roy Turnbaugh, Henty portrays Empire as 'a theatre for aggression' and the combat scenes in his books are 'distinguished by fantasies of slaughter'.[133] Turnbaugh is struck by 'the casual level on which violence is handled' in the novels and uses Rex as an example, commenting that he 'kills his enemies with the utmost ease and composure'.[134] Considering that Henty's biographer G. Manville Fenn asserted that Henty 'had a horror of a lad who displayed any weak emotion and shrank from shedding blood, or winced at any encounter', it is not surprising that Rex, the typical Henty hero, would be able to 'annihilate' twelve Boxers in just two minutes and not feel disturbed by it (*WAP* 91).[135] Later he describes how he 'polished off' a Boxer while rescuing Christians as if he had done something as simple and ordinary as polishing off an apple (*WAP* 144). Further, Rex shoots a Boxer 'through the head' and feels no qualms about holding the man by the head to drag the dead body out of a house (*WAP* 205). In another scene, Ah Lo uses his sword to strike a Boxer with such force

[132] John Cech, 'The Violent Shadows of Children's Culture', in *Handbook of Children, Culture, and Violence*, ed. by Nancy E. Dowd, Dorothy G. Singer and Robin Wilson (London: Sage, 2006), pp. 135-48.
[133] Turnbaugh, 'Images of Empire', 739.
[134] Turnbaugh, 'Images of Empire', 739. See also Eric Robert Reinders, *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), p. 122.
[135] George Manville Fenn, *George Alfred Henty; the Story of an Active Life* (London: Blackie, 1907), p. 334.

that he 'nearly decapitated him' (*WAP* 170). Helping Rex to save some women from Russian soldiers, he chokes the life out of one of the Russians and uses his rifle to 'put a ball into the man's head' just to make sure that he was really dead (*WAP* 347). When Rex's cousins express horror at his account of shooting some Boxers, he replies, 'You needn't grieve' for them. He reassures Jenny and Mabel that these people deserved to die because they 'no doubt' took part in some massacres (*WAP* 70). Rex views his aggressive actions as a form of justified vengeance for the monstrous acts of violence committed by the Boxers, such as massacring all the wounded who had been left between the arsenal and the river near Tianjin. The British felt it 'necessary' to 'inflict a terrible lesson upon the Chinese troops' because they had killed 'thousands, if not tens of thousands' of Chinese suspected of being favourable to the Allies (*WAP* 278).[136] Even the girls treat murder lightly, for Jenny remarks that she wishes she could be a boy so that she can help kill some Boxers.

While Rex seems to rely mostly on his gun, the characters in *The Lost Column* usually use their physical strength to overcome their enemies. Physical combat is vividly described in various parts of the novel. For example, although Gerald is armed, he uses his hands to choke a Chinese priest's face until it 'turned slowly to a ghastly greeny-blue. Then his jaw dropped open; and he lay quite motionless and mute' (*LC* 224). However, unlike Rex who does not feel 'the slightest regret at having to kill', Gerald tells Jugatai that he is not an assassin and refuses to kill a priest even though he would be safer if the man was dead (*WAP* 347). During the Siege of the Milton Towers, Dr. Raydon uses the butt of his rifle to deliver a 'shivering blow' to the first Boxer that opposed him, resulting in the man's head

[136] Another lesson to be learned was 'the necessity for adopting European methods': Henty, *With the Allies to Pekin*, p. 342.

'crack[ing] like a hazel nut' (*LC* 110).[137] Earlier, he had taken a Boxer 'by the throat, and hurled him back against the wall with such sudden violence that his neck broke like a rotten bough' (*LC* 77). Gerald and Mr. Wang dispose of two dead bodies by throwing them 'like coals going down a chute' (*LC* 258). Considering many of the characters' callous attitudes towards death and the extent of violence perpetrated against the Chinese, it is ironic that Dr. Raydon characterizes his own civilization as one full of 'Christian teachings of mercy, charity, sympathy, sincerity and love' (*LC* 32). There is an inherent contradiction between the retributive acts of violence and the supposed virtues of compassion in the British character.

These stories are thus very different from the 'sugared' history that Charlotte Yonge recommended for young readers in *What Books to Lend and What to Give* (1887), especially considering that mutilation or threat of mutilation frequently appears in the Boxer narratives.[138] Contemporary sources on the Boxer Uprising reported that 'stories of the killing of the wounded and the mutilation of the dead were in the mouth of every soldier'.[139] Henty's characters witness dead people lying on the streets, 'for the most part horribly slashed and mutilated' (*WAP* 103). In *The Lost Column*, Dr. Raydon fears for the Woods not because he was afraid they would be killed but because of 'the fearful form in which that death was sure to come' (*LC* 117). In Marlowe's 'The Captured Pigtail' (1901), wounded Westerners must be carried to safety lest they 'be tortured and mutilated by the Chinese'.[140] Such stories date back to the sixteenth century, when Galeotto Perera, a Spaniard, recorded the

[137] In 'The Scarlet Hand', Gilson uses a similar description: Guy hits the shaven head of a would-be murderer with the butt of his gun, resulting in the man's skull 'crack[ing] like a hazel-nut': Gilson, 'The Scarlet Hand: A Thrilling Tale of Adventure in China', 389.
[138] According to Mrs Bryson, the reason the bodies were mutilated was because 'in some districts, and especially in and around Yenshan, the Boxers seem to have been greatly terrified by a belief, prevalent among the heathen, that the Christians would "rise again in three days"': Bryson, *The Land of the Pigtail*, p. 183.
[139] Lynch, *The War of the Civilisations*, p. viii.
[140] Marlowe, 'The Captured Pigtail', 215.

tortures that Chinese people inflicted on their prisoners. Although terrible punishments were also a common feature in European culture during this time and even continued until the nineteenth century, readers are later 'informed that torture was a Chinese specialty, and it was proof of the intrinsic Chinese cowardice and cruelty'.[141] The Chinese had become well-known for their infamous torture techniques since the publication of George Mason's *Punishments of China* in 1801, a popular illustrated work which had gone into five editions by 1830.[142]

In 1804, John Barrow described the Chinese laws as being so cruel that they 'exclude and obliterate every notion of the dignity of human nature'.[143] Authors of Boxer narratives in the late nineteenth century continue to endorse his views in their works. In a short story set during the Uprising called 'The Scarlet Hand: A Thrilling Tale of Adventure in China' (1911-12), Gilson mentions 'the Chinese death of a thousand cuts', 'the most fiendish torture that has ever been invented by the faculties of man'.[144] According to Harold Isaacs,

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[141] Adrian Hsia, 'Introduction', in *The Vision of China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by Adrian Hsia (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1998), pp. 3-25 (p. 8).
[142] Timothy Brook, Jerome Bourgon and Gregory Blue, *Death by a Thousand Cuts* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), p. 171.
[143] John Barrow, *Travels in China: Containing Descriptions, Observations, and Comparisons, Made and Collected in the Course of a Short Residence at the Imperial Palace of Yuen-Min-Yuen, and on a Subsequent Journey through the Country from Pekin to Canton* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1804), p. 179.
[144] Gilson, 'The Scarlet Hand: A Thrilling Tale of Adventure in China', 392. Gilson reveals in his memoir that he once owned some photographs of the *ling-chih* process, 'a revolting and inhuman spectacle', but gave them away to a criminologist in a Midland town because they were 'too revolting to keep'. He explains that '*ling-chih*' is: 'The Slow and Lingering or Degrading Process, or the Death from a Thousand Cuts, was reserved for patricides, matricides and women who had murdered their husbands. I know of Europeans who have witnessed it, some of whom were physically sick at the terrible sight. And all were agreed that the spectators worked themselves into a kind of frenzy at the sight of the agonies of the victim, though these were in inverse ratio to the sum with which the executioner had been bribed. If the criminal were wealthy, he—or she, as it generally was—was well doped with opium and the torture brought to a speedy end': Gilson, *Chances and Mischances*, p. 128. He also witnesses other scenes of Chinese violence while stationed in China: One day he found himself in a village near the British Concession of Tientsin where a man had been 'literally hacked to pieces. He lay upon his face. His bare back exhibited at least a score of deep open wounds, and his head was half-severed at the neck. And yet he still breathed, he still lived, though life was ebbing slowly'. Next to him was his lover, a girl around the age of sixteen, dead: 'a knife had been driven to the hilt straight into her heart': Gilson, *Chances and Mischances*, pp. 126-27. Both had been murdered by the girl's husband who discovered the affair.

> [i]mages of the Chinese torturer and executioner [...] made their most vivid impact on a wider public during the events of the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. In the popular press and along the more intimate channels of missionary-church communications passed vivid accounts and pictures of the descent of Boxer fanatics on foreign and Chinese Christians, of brutal killings and tortures, among them the celebrated 'torture of a thousand cuts'.[145]

Even the catalogue for the popular exhibit 'Ten Thousand Chinese Things' at Hyde Park in 1842 describes lingche, which was the punishment for treason, parricide, or sacrilege.[146] The term was often translated as 'cutting into ten thousand pieces' by Europeans, but Sir John Francis Davis points out that this is incorrect, because the Chinese phrase means 'a disgraceful and lingering death'.[147] In 1838, Charles Dowing explained that because foreigners could not witness most executions, they were 'unable sufficiently to determine the nature of the Ling-chy, a death accompanied by some peculiar severities'.[148] However, a decade earlier, the *Canton News* described lingche as 'slowly cutting to pieces' where the prisoner is 'stripped naked, and lashed to a cross; a cut is made across the forehead, and the skin of the face pulled down; then the feet, legs, hands, arms, and head, are successively cut from the trunk, which is finally stabbed to the heart'.[149] These horrific descriptions of torture left a deep impression on young readers. For example, a man Isaacs

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[145] Harold Robert Isaacs, *Scratches on our Minds: American Images of China and India* (New York: J. Day, [1958]), p. 106.

[146] See William B. Langdon, *Ten Thousand Chinese Things: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Collection, Now Exhibiting at St. George's Place, Hyde Park Corner, with Condensed Accounts of the Genius, Government, History, Literature, Agriculture Arts, Trade, Manners, Customs, and Social Life of the People of the Celestial Empire*, 19th English edn (London: Printed for the Proprietor, 1842), p. 260. References to lingche in children's texts can be found as early as 1825, 'To be cut in a thousand pieces is a punishment unknown in any other climate but China. This horrible punishment is destined for state criminals and cases for high treason, being similar to our sentence of drawing apart or quartering the body in England. The criminal is tied to a post,--the executioner scalps the skin from his head, and pulls it over his eyes; he afterwards tears the flesh from different parts of his body; and never quits this horrid labour until fatigue renders him unable to proceed. He then abandons the remains of the body to the ferocity of the people, who finish what he has left undone': *The World in Miniature, or, Panorama of the Costumes, Manners, & Customs, of All Nations* (London: Bysh, 1825), p. 27.

[147] John Francis Davis, *The Chinese: A General Description of the Empire of China and Its Inhabitants*, The Library of Entertaining Knowledge, 2 vols (London: Knight, 1836), I, p. 227.

[148] Charles Toogood Dowing, *The Fan-Qui in China, in 1836-7*, 3 vols (London: Colburn, 1838), III, p. 271.

[149] 'The Canton News', *Oriental Herald and Journal of General Literature*, XVIII (1828), 308.

interviewed recalls 'accounts of the Boxer time which he had read as a boy', such as a story by Ralph D. Paine called 'The Cross and the Dragon' (1911) from *The Youth's Companion* that aroused in him a 'sensation of terror'. The pictures in that story still haunted him even though thirty years had passed since he laid eyes on them.[150]

Closely related to discourses of violence are comparisons between the Boxer Uprising and the Indian Mutiny when atrocities committed against women were widely reported in the British media.[151] In *The Lost Column*, the European husbands in Tianjin, imitating British husbands during the Indian Mutiny, prepared to kill their wives and daughters if the Boxers entered the city, because 'death, even from the hands of loved ones, was more welcome than the clemency their foes were like to show. The horrors of Cawnpore would pale before the ferocity of the Chinese' (*LC* 147). In *With the Allies to Pekin*, the behaviour of the females, both British and Chinese, echoes that of the women who committed suicide during the Indian Mutiny to avoid being violated. For example, Rex's teenage cousins would rather shoot themselves 'than fall into [the Boxers'] hands again' (*WAP* 107). Forman interprets these acts of planned suicide as a response to fears of Chinese torture rather than sexual violence, but it is unclear in *The Lost Column* what 'the ferocity of the Chinese' refers to.[152] Perhaps Gilson wanted to allude to sexual crimes but could not do it explicitly because of the taboo against this kind of writing in children's literature.

Yixu Lü observes that in German reports on the Boxer Uprising, the same act of men committing suicide and killing their wives and children to avoid a worse fate

[150] Isaacs, *Scratches on our Minds*, p. 106.
[151] For the reports and rumours about violence against British women during the Indian Mutiny, see Jenny Sharpe, *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Context* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).
[152] Forman, 'Peking Plots', 34.

is encoded very differently depending on who was involved in the act. When Europeans put their families to death, the reader is faced with a heroic version of events which render the act admirable. However, when the Chinese did the same to their wives and children, they are described as 'barbarous' and all of the gruesome details of the process are provided.[153] According to the narrator of *With the Allies to Pekin*, Chinese women, sometimes with their children in their arms, 'threw themselves out of windows or drowned themselves in wells', because they had 'an intense fear of the foreign devils' (*WAP* 299). Henty's description probably came from his reading of Lynch, who describes the Allies observing 'many curious sights' and 'not the least curious was the number of houses where the inhabitants had committed suicide just before their arrival'.[154] Lynch reports that when the Chinese heard the guns of the invaders they thought 'the time had come for their wives and sisters, as well as for themselves, to save themselves by suicide'. He is critical of Western 'civilisation' but remarks that 'There are things that I must not write, and that may not be printed in England, which would seem to show that this Western civilisation of ours is merely a veneer over savagery'.[155] Dr. E. J. Dillon, the *Daily Telegraph*'s correspondent, supported Lynch's view. Dillon was shocked that 'Chinese women honestly believed that no more terrible fate could overtake them than to fall alive into the hands of Europeans and Christians' but added 'it is to be feared that they were right'.[156] Henty also criticizes the 'civilization' of some Allies in his depiction of Russian soldiers who 'gave themselves entirely to looting, rapine, and crime of every kind' (*WAP* 299).

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[153] Yixu Lü, 'Germany's War in China: Media Coverage and Political Myth', *German Life and Letters*, 61.2 (2008), 202-14 (pp. 208-09).
[154] Lynch, *The War of the Civilisations*, p. 141.
[155] Lynch, *The War of the Civilisations*, p. 142. For a similar discussion of British awareness of their own savagery against the Indians during the Indian Mutiny, see also Herbert, *War of No Pity*.
[156] Quoted in Diana Preston, *Besieged in Peking: The Story of the 1900 Boxer Rising* (London: Constable, 1999), p. 215.

Attitudes toward War

Some critics have argued that adventure-story heroes regard war zones as fun playgrounds where excitement never ceases. Novels such as *The Dragon of Pekin* (1902) seem to support this view because the adjective 'fun' is used several times in the text to describe involvement in war-related activities. For example, Charlie and Bob had both 'longed to get out to the Boer war and see some fun'. The outbreak of the Boxer Uprising provides them with the opportunity to gratify this desire by 'taking part in active warfare'.[157] As they get ready to deliver despatches from Peking to Tianjin for Sir Claude MacDonald, Bob says 'Get ready, you fellows. The fun is beginning'.[158] Stanley Cox, another young Englishman, states, 'let us get ahead, for the sooner we are there to join in the fun the better we shall like it'.[159] Before arriving at the Peking Legations, Rex claims:

> it would be a splendid thing to go through the siege. It is not like an ordinary siege in an ordinary war. They have attacked us and perpetrated the most horrible massacres all over the country; they have lied through thick and thin; they are treacherous and cruel brutes, who will certainly show no mercy if they capture the place, so that I shall feel that I am fighting in a good cause, and that these men deserve all they will get. (*WAP* 90)

Although Rex may have craved adventure and excitement in the Peking Legations, before he reaches the place, 'His love of fun had entirely left him, and his face was as stern as that of the oldest soldier' (*WAP* 282). War might have seemed a game at first, but the toll it has on boys can be seen on their solemn faces. According to Mitzi Myers,

> The platitudes that war books fascinate young readers because they provide risk-free real events more exciting than any make-believe, yet appealingly predictable because the audience knows who 'won'; that they evade serious moral issues or reduce these to the good guys versus the bad, thus serving as conduits for national ideologies; or that they are usually

[157] Brereton, *The Dragon of Pekin*, p. 138.
[158] Brereton, *The Dragon of Pekin*, p. 167.
[159] Brereton, *The Dragon of Pekin*, p. 188.

> escapist (combat books from 'over there' for boys) or gendered (domestic contribution stories for girls on the home front) need scotching.[160]

Kimberley Reynolds has shown that in children's writing before World War I, 'mass-circulation of boys' fiction was not dominated by accounts of stirring battles and a patriotic call to arms' and argues that 'the tendency to identify boy's stories as the well-spring of a mythos and instrument of a recruitment campaign that ended with boys on the battlefields of the First World War is simplistic'.[161] These statements are particularly telling when one considers Dorothea Flothow's argument that Gerald's experiences in *The Lost Column* resemble 'a game of hide-and-seek in which Gerald always manages to outwit his opponent. The same motif, which again trivializes war by linking it to children's play, is frequently used in novels of the First World War'.[162] She links Gilson's depiction of war to children's play, but fails to point out that despite the author's descriptions of Gerald's exciting exploits there is a serious anti-war undertone in the novel. Michael Paris asserts that popular culture of the late nineteenth-century 'legitimized war, romanticized battle and portrayed the warrior as a masculine ideal'.[163] Depictions of battle are less-than-romantic in *The Lost Column*, however. For example, the wounded members of Seymour's Column, who used to be strong men, lay 'all but lifeless, and green and drawn with pain; faces of men who see but dimly and have not the power to speak, flushed hot in fever as though in pride of health; sheet-white faces with blood-stained bandages bound about the

[160] Myers, 'Storying War', 328.
[161] Kimberley Reynolds, 'Representations of Soldiers and Conflict in Writing for Children before World War I', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, 34.3 (2009), 255-71 (pp. 266; 270).
[162] Dorothea Flothow, '"Train Yourself to Defend Your Country": British Children's Novels in the First World War', in *War, Virtual War and Society: The Challenge to Communities*, ed. by Andrew R. Wilson and Mark L. Perry (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008), pp. 3-20 (p. 10). For further discussion on war stories for children, see Kate Agnew and Geoff Fox, *Children at War* (London: Continuum, 2001).
[163] Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000* (London: Reaktion, 2000), p. 13.

brows, and tall men carried in comrades' arms like helpless babes' (*LC* 362).[164] War is a traumatic experience where strong men are reduced to helpless babes and boys are forced to grow up fast. Because of the Boxer Uprising, the transition from adolescence to manhood has accelerated: Gilson laments the loss of childhood when he describes Midshipman Tite and Gerald as 'two English boys, far away from England, playing the parts of men for England's sake' (*LC* 176). Gerald oscillates between feeling like a man and a child in the novel.[165] Setting off to search for Admiral Seymour's lost column, he 'felt he was about to do something worthy of the doing; for the first time in his life he felt himself a man' (*LC* 154). Not long after, he prepares to say goodbye to his mother, thinking he 'was a man and her guardian and protector'. However, as soon as she took him in her arms, 'he was again a child' (*LC* 155).

In addition to presenting the non-romantic side of war, Gilson also suggests that war on the outskirts of empire is something that those sitting safely back home in Britain will never be fully able to comprehend. Although the capture of the Western Arsenal was reported in British newspapers, it 'is very doubtful whether those who sit at home and read in cold, half-damp print the brief account of some such petty victory as this ever dream for a moment of what it all has meant' (*LC* 337). The capacity of language to transcribe events accurately is called into question. Gilson speculates that they read the headlines proclaiming success in the capture of the Arsenal, and 'feel in some small measure a certain glow of pride in their country, their navy and the men who are paid by them. They slap themselves on the back. By

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[164] Reynolds has pointed out that in the *Boy's Own Paper*'s depiction of conflict, 'the rhetoric tends to veer between sober reflection on the mistakes, brutalities, and suffering caused by war': Reynolds, 'Representations of Soldiers', 257.

[165] According to Denisoff, 'Childhood had the potential of extending anywhere from birth to the age of twenty or even higher, depending on who one was, who was doing the categorizing, and when in the century the categorizing was taking place': Dennis Denisoff, 'Small Change: The Consumerist Designs of the Nineteenth-Century Child', in *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture* ed. by Dennis Denisoff (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 1-26 (p. 4).

the time full details have reached them the affair is a thing of the past, though once again, perhaps, they feel this glow of pride' (*LC* 337). The time it takes for information to be sent back home also reduces the impact of the story. The 'glow of pride' in Great Britain is fleeting—it is a 'little, pleasing, passing emotion', nothing when one thinks in the midst of this that '"the men they pay" have left the world' (*LC* 337). Those who sit by the fireplace enjoying the newspaper are often those who have never been through war—no matter how many reports they read, they ultimately fail to understand it. The victories in China were won by bloodshed and left some men 'maimed for life', but when these events are reduced to words in a newspaper column they seem to lose meaning (*LC* 148). This is a reflection on the trauma of war and the failure of language to represent adequately war's reality.

In contrast to Gilson's description of Seymour's wounded troops, Henty, describing the same scene, writes: 'The head of the column was just coming in. A portion of the relief force led, and then Admiral Seymour's men, many of them carrying the sick and wounded on stretchers, doors, and other make-shifts' (*WAP* 260). The condition of the wounded and sick is not described. Similarly, when Henty reports that the troops decided to withdraw to Tianjin, he merely notes that the wounded were 'carried down and placed on board some junks that had been captured on the previous day' (*WAP* 271). In comparison, Gilson's description is much more disturbing: 'From the junks, moored to the river banks, the groans of the wounded sounded loud and almost unearthly in the night; a man and a horse in pain let out inhuman cries' (*LC* 327). When he was wounded in the Boer War, a devastating conflict that resulted in thousands of British deaths, Gilson probably lay awake listening to the 'inhuman cries' throughout the night in the nursing stations. In *With the Allies to Pekin* Henty lists the casualties in each battle, but they are simply numbers on a page that have little personal impact on the reader. Henty

presents a much more sanitized and unrealistic version of war. For example, Rex does not seem to feel any pain even when 'a bullet entered just above the wrist and ran up to [his] shoulder' (*WAP* 271). Although Rex feels 'horrified' by the dead peasants lying in the captured villages and expresses great 'grief' at the 'awful' destruction in the towns, detailed descriptions of these scenes is lacking (*WAP* 293; 328; 337). Similarly, although refugees brought out by a relief party organized by Dr. Morrison, *The Times* correspondent, described the 'terrible' 'scenes of slaughter that they had witnessed', readers do not know the specifics (*WAP* 113). War-torn villages are quickly cleaned up: 'the troops set to work to render the town habitable. Great numbers of dead were removed from the houses that had been destroyed by shell fire, and from the streets, and in a very short time the town was brought into a satisfactory sanitary condition' (*WAP* 268).

While all of the British characters in *With the Allies to Pekin* are courageous and contribute their best efforts to resisting the Boxers, this is not the case in *The Lost Column*. Gilson destabilizes the notion of the staunch British hero in the character of Mr. Pannick. Although he is supposed to be Gerald's guardian, the war affects him in such a way that child/adult roles are reversed. Instead of being a brave father-figure to Gerald, he is portrayed as a comic coward who 'sought to hide his emotion by bravado, in which he was assisted, as it seemed by an additional expanse of waistcoat' (*LC* 64).[166] Of war, Gilson writes that it 'takes men in two ways: it either excites them or makes them morose' (*LC* 68). In the case of Mr. Pannick, he feels morose. True to his name, he panics and his face goes 'as white as his waistcoat' when he sees the Boxers' printed notices calling 'death to the Christians, death to the foreign devils, death to man and woman and child' (*LC* 36-37).

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[166] Forman notes that Pannick was 'a working-class lad whose transportation overseas allows him to pull himself into the middle class': Forman, 'Peking Plots', 45.

Although he proclaims before the Boxer Uprising that if the Chinese did rise against the British, 'we'd wipe the lot of them off the face of the earth', and that he 'did not mean to "miss the fun"', the narrator notes that what Mr. Pannick thought and 'what he actually said were two entirely different things' (*LC* 31; 64). When Milton Towers is attacked, he hides in a stove instead of fighting, proving his unreliability and cowardice. In the end, he is reluctant to return to England however, because in Tianjin, 'he was a man of some importance. In England he would be no one: he would not be admitted to society, and he knew it; if he had been a little richer than he was, possibly he might be tolerated' (*LC* 375). Mr. Pannick's situation reflects the dilemma many expatriates face: they are 'stuck' in an in-between space, belonging to neither China nor England. Even though 'England was the only land they loved', people like Pannick are not necessarily accepted back home (*LC* 379).

Conclusion

As discussed in the previous chapter, children's historical fiction based on the Boxer Uprising far outnumbered the stories dealing with the Taiping Rebellion, because the Taipings were regarded as rebels attempting to overthrow the Chinese government, whereas the Boxers directly threatened the safety of foreign residents in northern China.[167] Caught in the Boxer Uprising, the young protagonists of these stories, which were usually more plot-driven than character-driven, perform courageous acts, such as volunteering in Admiral Seymour's relief column, or disguising themselves as Chinese in order to pass on messages between Peking and Tianjin after telegraphic communication between the two cities had been cut by the Boxers. In one of the early Boxer stories, Charlotte Yonge wrote that the Boxers were 'not fanatics' but 'more political enemies'.[168] However, the label 'fanatic' was frequently used in association with the Boxers in later narratives for children.

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[167] Henty, *With the Allies to Pekin*, p. 114.
[168] Yonge, *The Making of a Missionary*, p. 225.

Because of the Boxers' perceived 'fanatical' hatred for the British, authors seem to feel justified in describing the excessive violence that their young heroes resorted to in dealing with their enemies. As Rex puts it, they 'deserve all they will get' (*WAP* 90). It seems as if the language of force was the only means of communication with the 'irrational' Boxers. Even though more than half a century had passed since the opening of the treaty ports and 'floods' of books had been written about China, the distinction between Western civilization and Chinese barbarity was starker than ever. The knowledge that readers of Boxer narratives gained from the stories was about an essential Chinese 'madness', which is very different from the picturesque views of China provided in Bowman and Dalton's works and the carefree humour of Ching-Ching.

Throughout this thesis, I have highlighted the necessity of looking at the images of the Chinese in relation to their historical moment. From the optimism expressed by Bowman not long after the opening of the treaty ports in the 1840s and 50s to the intense fear caused by the hostile Boxers at the turn of the century, the shift in representation is significant. The Boxer Uprising was a pivotal event that marked the beginning of 'yellow peril' fever and the trend of distinctly vindictive diatribes against the 'evil, fanatical' Chinese who were characterized by unconscionable cruelty.[169] However, while a stream of invective from many authors of the Boxer narratives may be apparent, this does not mean that injustices against the Chinese were not acknowledged.

Gilson asserts in his memoir that 'there are no half-measures about the juvenile critic. What you give him is either "ripping" or "rotten". And once you gain

[169] For example, Gilson's Secret Society for Federated Asia may have been inspired by H. G. Wells's 1907 invasion story *The War in the Air* which describes India, Japan and China forming a Federation to attack Europe and America. Jugatai paves the way for children's invasion novels such as *When East Meets West: A Story of the Yellow Peril* (1913) and a story about the yellow peril in Australia, *The Invisible Island* (1910). Percy Francis Westerman, *When East Meets West: A Story of the Yellow Peril* (London: Blackie, 1913); Alexander Macdonald, *The Invisible Island* (London: Blackie, [1910]).

his attention, you are certain of a safe, if moderate, income, for your books sell from year to year and go on selling, instead of being sold off as remainders'.[170] Like Henty before him, Gilson had found a formula for ensuring that his stories would be considered 'ripping' by juvenile critics and hence stuck to it throughout his career as a children's author.[171] Although both authors employed conventional plots involving young heroes defeating evil Boxers who reacted antagonistically to Western involvement in China, Henty criticizes some of the Allies, in particular Germany and Russia while Gilson emphasizes the solidarity between the Powers. Therefore, Hevia's statement that Henty's novel 'fixed the meaning of the event in clear-cut terms of perpetrator and victim' needs to be reconsidered. Not all of the Europeans were victims, and neither were all the Chinese perpetrators of violence. In fact, some innocent Chinese village women would have been preyed upon by Russian soldiers had Rex not arrived to help save them. Through this incident, Britain's superiority over the other Powers is highlighted. Even some of the Boxers can be regarded as victims because in some villages, young men join the group because they fear that if they do not, 'evil will befall them' (*WAP* 30).

According to Heather Springer, '[a]t the turn of the twentieth century, the war story's guise as "pure adventure" had worn thin'.[172] However, Henty still represented the incursion into China as an adventure in *With the Allies to Pekin* while Gilson articulated the stark hardships of the military campaign in *The Lost Column.* In terms of representations of the Boxer conflict, both attempted to explain the possible reasons for anti-foreign sentiment and comment on the 'scramble for China' during this period of instability. However, Gilson's treatment of war is not as

[170] Gilson, *Chances and Mischances*, p. 25.
[171] According to Henty, over the years, he devised a formula for ensuring that his books would become bestsellers: feature a British boy aged sixteen or so, and have the action last no more than four or five years because readers would not be interested in heroes over the age of twenty-one. See Henty, 'Writing Books for Boys', 105; Gilson, *Chances and Mischances*, p. 282.
[172] Heather Springer, 'Barrie's Peter Pan', *The Explicator*, 65.2 (2007), 96-99 (p. 96).

formulaic as Henty's. Whereas Henty glorified the British army, and to a certain extent war, Gilson's depiction of conflict in China anticipated the suffering and disillusionment of the Great War. Considering that both authors witnessed war firsthand, it is curious that Henty, who served as a war correspondent in places such as Crimea, Turkey, Italy, and Abyssinia, does not provide realistic descriptions of warfare in *With the Allies to Pekin.* This may be because Henty, a proponent of empire known for being 'the most Imperialist of all Imperialists', addressed this book to potential future combatants, and did not want to include the harsh realities of war in his story.[173] While Henty, who informed his readers that the qualities of 'energy' and 'pluck' 'have made the British empire the greatest the world has ever seen', was still writing in the tradition of inculcating patriotism through optimistic wartime adventure stories, Gilson, having been invalided out of the army, used the same genre to reflect on the negative implications of war, the bleakness of its aftermath, and the questionable enterprise of imperialism.[174] Though both authors dealt with the topic of war, Henty's *With the Allies to Pekin* conformed more to the adventure story genre while Gilson's *The Lost Column* anticipated the genre of war stories that would rise out of the First World War.

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[173] Edmund Downey, *Twenty Years Ago: A Book of Anecdote* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1905), pp. 115-16.
[174] G. A. Henty, *The Lion of Saint Mark: A Story of Venice in the Fourteenth Century* (London: Blackie, [1889?]), n. pag.

Conclusion

Quilts and Kaleidoscopes: Visions of China in the Literary Imagination

> The impressions of childhood [reading] are those that last longest and cut deepest.
>
> —Virginia Woolf[1]

As Howard Pyle (1853-1911), American author and illustrator, observed: 'In one's mature years one forgets the books that one reads, but the stories of childhood leave an indelible impression, and the author always has a niche in the temple of memory from which the image is never cast out to be thrown into the rubbish-heap of things that are outgrown and outlived'.[2] Pyle's reference to the 'indelible' impressions of childhood reading is echoed in Virginia Woolf's assertion that these reading experiences 'cut deepest'. Both point to the importance of childhood reading and its long-lasting effects. Many critics have discussed the influence of reading in shaping children's sense of self and their perceptions of others.[3] Some have argued that Victorian and Edwardian children read stories that fostered a negative image of the Chinese as racially inferior. For example, Kathryn Castle claims that the 'logic of racial and national superiority' was 'pervasive and controlling' and that it is 'unlikely' that the young readers who were 'being ill-served by a denial of balanced history and the distortions of race in their leisure reading' 'recognised it'.[4] However, one Victorian child who grew up in the late nineteenth-century reveals that although

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[1] Quoted in Betty Greenway, 'The Influence of Childhood Reading', in *Twice-Told Children's Tales: The Influence of Childhood Reading on Writers for Adults*, ed. by Betty Greenway (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. xv-xxvi (p. xv).
[2] Quoted in Allen J. Frantzen and John D. Niles, eds., *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1997), p. 176.
[3] See, for example, David Milner, *Children and Race: Ten Years On* (London: Ward Lock Education, 1983); Gillian Klein, *Reading into Racism* (London: Routledge, 1985); Wallace E. Lambert and Otto Klineberg, *Children's Views of Foreign Peoples: A Cross-National Study* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967).
[4] Kathryn Castle, *Britannia's Children: Reading Colonialism through Children's Books and Magazines* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 9; 181.

he enjoyed a book on China 'specially designed for young children',

> one thing in it, apart from the remembered joy of the pictures, was a statement which I didn't credit then, and do not credit now, that so sympathetic were the relations between Chinese parents and their children that even when miles apart a boy would tell if his mother had a pain in her elbow because he had just felt a pain in his.[5]

The above statement from J. A. Hammerton's memoir reveals that at least this particular child did not passively accept 'the distortions of race' without recognizing it. Furthermore, as this study has demonstrated, it is unhelpful to make broad generalizations about Victorian and Edwardian children's reading. For example, a child who grew up reading *The Wolf Boy of China* (1857) would have had a very different childhood memory of China compared with one fed on stories written during the Boxer Uprising, though both would fall under the rubric of 'Victorian children'.

In 1857, William Milne objected to authors such as Bayard Taylor who, after 'a flying visit to Shanghai [...] and perhaps to one or two other ports in China', concluded that 'It is my deliberate opinion that the Chinese are morally the most debased people on the face of the earth'.[6] Just as Taylor did not hesitate in making such bold remarks about the Chinese after a brief visit to China, some twentieth-century critics have only skimmed through the large corpus of children's texts on China before concluding that they overwhelmingly reflect imperialist tendencies and racial essentialism of the age. To prove their argument, these critics highlighted some parts of the texts and ignored others or selected only texts that support their views. This has led to an obscuring of the nuances of British writing on China for children. Throughout this thesis, I have attempted to point out some of the neglected areas of the writings, presenting both the virtues and vices of the Chinese and noting how the change in perceptions of the Chinese hinged upon the nature of Sino-British

[5] J. A. Hammerton, *Books and Myself: Memoirs of an Editor* (London: Macdonald, 1944), p. 14.
[6] William Milne, *Life in China* (London: Routledge, 1857), p. 401.

relations at the time of the texts' production.

By tracing the development of how knowledge of China was transmitted to Victorian and Edwardian children via different genres of children's fiction, this study has aimed to complicate the notion that this body of work predominantly presented the Chinese as opium-smoking, cowardly, xenophobic, and 'inscrutable' cheaters. I have attempted to demonstrate the importance of examining in detail how differences in perceptions of the Chinese existed over the sixty year period between 1851and 1911 and aimed to expand our understanding of the rich texture and scope of British representations of the Chinese in Victorian and Edwardian children's fiction. As my discussion of Bowman and Dalton's travelogue stories in Chapter Two has shown, these differences are evident even among single authors' works which were published within the space of a few years. Considering that a mixture of attitudes towards the Chinese has been disclosed throughout this thesis, we need to reorient how we think about representations of China during this period.

If we imagine the children's texts about China written during the Victorian and Edwardian period as a large quilt and examined it from an aerial view, the brightly-coloured fabrics (negative stereotypes) would be very obvious. However, it is important not to treat these texts as a homogeneous whole, for it increases the possibility of overlooking the intricate stitching on the quilt which deserves to be examined more closely. From this vantage point, we can find disparate attitudes toward the Chinese instead of the uniform voicing of stereotypes.

Through the process of identifying the various sources that children's authors such as Dalton consulted, I have attempted to trace some of the strands that form the web of knowledge about China and how information about this country was transmitted to children the Victorian and Edwardian era. Authors such as Dalton played a crucial role in making information about China, previously confined to a

small section of the elite classes in the works of Du Halde, Staunton, Huc, and others, more accessible to the public by incorporating parts of their texts into stories for the young. As suggested in Chapter One, the texts I discuss are hybrid commodities and this description also links with the idea of patchwork. Considering that many of the authors studied in this thesis often replicated paragraphs from the works they consulted without making much effort to rephrase the content, their writing process is analogous to quilting because they selected and 'cut out' parts of the source texts ('fabrics') while creating their stories. Many authors presented an image of themselves being fastidious about the 'fabrics' they chose. For example, in *The Celestial Empire; or, Points and Pickings of Information about China and the Chinese* (1844), the narrator asserts that he aims to '*pick out*' the information most worthy of children's attention and 'will neither represent the tails of the Chinamen to be an inch longer, nor the feet of the Chinawomen to be a hair's breadth shorter, than they really are'.[7] The pieces of information borrowed from the Chinese 'experts' can be viewed as patches of old cloth passed down from previous centuries that are stitched in with more contemporary concerns and images of China. Authors, some more skilled than others, used the pieces of old cloth in different ways. For example, reviewers of Mossman and Graydon's books complained that they learned nothing new from the novels, which suggests that the authors' technique of recycling old 'cloth' formed an unappealing pattern.

More 'patches' of cloth were handed down and became available to authors/quilters over time. With new pieces of information coming in, old 'patches' such as the popular term 'Celestial Empire', which Bowman and Mossman readily employed as a synonym for China, were discarded by some later authors. While in

[7] Emphasis in the original. Old Humphrey, *The Celestial Empire; or, Points and Pickings of Information About China and the Chinese* (London: Grant and Griffith, 1844), pp. 1-2; 5.

1876, a *Children's Friend* author informed his readers that 'The Chinese call their country the "Flowery Land" and the "Celestial Empire"',[8] by 1903, the term had come to be regarded as inaccurate, as Rex Bateman, the hero of G. A. Henty's *With the Allies to Pekin* points out:

> By a misunderstanding, when we first had diplomatic relations with them the word Celestial was applied to their empire, and people ever since have believed that that is what they call the country. The word Celestial is applied only to the emperor, who is viewed almost as a god, but they would never dream of applying it to the country. Because the document said the Celestial Emperor, it was supposed that the kingdom over which he reigned was called the Celestial Kingdom. On the contrary, they call it the Terrestrial Kingdom [...].[9]

Each text examined in this thesis has its own unique pattern and texture. While elements of 'adventure' exist in all of the stories, the characters who experience these events are diverse: from the half-Miao, half-English Lyu Payo to the 'supposed' Peking native Ching-Ching to the American medical missionary Margaret Hayes. Even the minor characters are not so easily classified because not all of the Western characters are paragons of virtue—Mr. Pannick in *The Lost Column* is a cowardly Englishman and Burgevine in *Among Hostile Hordes* is a renegade American. While the earlier texts by Bowman and Dalton were more 'fact-driven', later stories such as those by Marchant, Henty, and Gilson were more 'action-driven'. While some authors may have demonstrated racial pride, others tried to show racial understanding, eschewing monolithic representations of 'the Chinese'. Therefore, if only one single-coloured fabric was used to represent 'the Chinese' in some stories, in others such as Dalton's, different coloured patches were used to represent the Miao, the Si-fan, the Han Chinese, and the Tartars. The same fabric might be used in vastly different ways. For example, Burrage utilized stereotypes of the Chinese as cunning and mysterious to create a vivid and light-

[8] 'Travels to Other Countries: No.1-- China', *The Children's Friend*, XVI (1876), 4-6 (p. 4).
[9] G. A. Henty, *With the Allies to Pekin: A Tale of the Relief of the Legations* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), p. 15.

hearted picture of Ching-Ching while the same images were used by authors of the Boxer and Taiping tales to portray the Chinese as cruel and unpredictable. Whilst one could argue that all the authors employed stereotypes, Burrage did it for comic effect while Marchant, Henty, and Gilson had other motives. This cross-genre study has also shown that not all of the texts conform to the dictates of genre. For example, Burrage reformulated the conventions of the penny dreadful, transforming the comic Other into the detective hero, while Gilson used the adventure story to reflect on the traumas of war and criticize children's participation in it. These attitudes and representations, inextricably linked to the historical moment, reveal more about 'the history of the observer rather than the observed'.[10]

In the 1850s, it was assumed that China was little-known to the children of Britain, but as the century progressed, authors reflected a confidence in children's knowledge of China and the world. Although the didactic tendency to educate readers on the 'customs and manners' of the Chinese lessened as more information was being sent back from China, the historical novels in the latter part of the century included a strong pedagogical intent of teaching lessons about the conflicts in China such as the Taiping Rebellion and the Boxer Uprising. As more knowledge of China became available towards the end of the nineteenth century, paradoxically, the idea of the Chinese as barbaric and unpredictable became more prevalent, particularly during the Boxer Uprising, when the image of China reached its nadir. Therefore, unlike some have argued, racism was not necessarily predicated on ignorance but much more related to the historical moment.

As the last chapter has demonstrated, the dynamics between China and Britain at the turn of the century had changed dramatically since Britain's victories in the

[10] Raymond Stanley Dawson, *The Chinese Chameleon: An Analysis of European Conceptions of Chinese Civilization* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 8.

Opium Wars. Britain realized that its position in East Asia was much more precarious than in the past due to its relationships between Russia, Japan, and other European countries which became increasingly complex after events such as the Sino-French War (1884-85), the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), the Boxer Uprising (1899-1901), and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05). Many early twentieth-century children's texts commented on China's awakening from what was viewed as a deep slumber. According to a character in 'The Sway of the World: A Story of Mystery and Adventure', a story serialized in *Young England* (1895-1937), China's importance cannot be ignored because of its location in Asia and its possible influence on India and Tibet:

> China—this great, unwieldy, amorphous empire we call China, whose might we but half suspect, even whose boundaries we do not exactly know—this ancient and weary empire that is the pivot of all the power of Asia, whose unguessed influence extends into unknown regions of India and Thibet—this great, blind, and dreaming monster is about to wake. The signs are everywhere; Europe, having had warning of the approaching cataclysm, is taken precautions. Already the Empire is breaking up, and the strong hands of the nations of the West are filching what they can, what their jealousy of each other allows them to take, from this helpless and drowsy beast.[11]

This 'New' China could no longer be portrayed as a sleeping giant on the peripheries of Empire because it had become a potentially dangerous power that needed to be watched. Because of China's large population, the country's influence on global politics could not be ignored.

In *The New China: A Traveller's Impressions* (1912), Henri Borel recalls reading a very interesting essay by a ten-year-old student who attended 'a private Chinese school somewhere in Java' which stated that the Japanese defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) 'by its knowledge, by its education'. The

[11] Lawrence Zeal, 'The Sway of the World: A Story of Mystery and Adventure', *Young England*, 25 (1903-04), 1-8, 66-73, 102-09, 157-62, 185-91, 237-44, 282-89, 317-22, 346-52, 388-94, 438-44, 464-69 (p. 188). In 1909, Johnston informed her young readers: 'China began to wake up, and the reforms for which the Emperor had longed are now being introduced': Lena E. Johnston, *Peeps at Many Lands: China* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1909), p. 87.

student was confident that when the 'more than four hundred millions' in China 'are instructed and know', 'China will be much more powerful than little Japan or the strongest peoples of Europe'.[12] As the student's essay reveals, even children were aware of the empowering qualities of knowledge and the importance of education. To varying degrees, the authors examined in this thesis wrote with a desire for their child readers to put on the mantle of power with the knowledge about China they acquired from the stories.

In 1842, the *Spectator* reported on the 'Ten Thousand Chinese Things' exhibit:

> At any time, such a museum as this, giving an insight into the habits and arts of life of a people of whom we know so little, would be interesting; but at the present juncture it is most especially so. A few hours spent in studying the contents of this collection, with the aid of the descriptive catalogue, which is full of information, much of it original, will possess the visitor with an idea of the Chinese almost as complete and vivid as could be formed by a voyage to China. (*Spectator* 730: 616)[13]

The idea that a visit to the exhibit and the reading of a descriptive text about China and the Chinese could nearly replicate the experience of travelling there is echoed at the end of *John Chinaman*, an illustrated book of verse:

> Now don't you long to go, like me,
> The wonders of this land to see?
> Well, on the voyage you might be drowned,
> And must spend many and many a pound.
> Don't go: but scan this book with care,
> Each line and letter:
> It's just as good as going there.
> Perhaps it's better.[14]

As the author suggests, to traverse China in the imagination is just as interesting, or perhaps more so, than to embark on actual voyage there. This text expresses many authors' attitudes towards writing about distant lands: they could transport readers to a place such as China through words on a page and perhaps give them a better

[12] Henri Borel, *The New China: A Traveller's Impressions*, trans. by Carel Thieme (London: Unwin, 1912), pp. 16-17.
[13] Quoted in Catherine Pagani, 'Chinese Material Culture and British Perceptions of China in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', in *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture, and the Museum*, ed. by T. J. Barringer and Tom Flynn (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 28-40 (p. 37).
[14] Rowe Lingstone, *John Chinaman* (London: Griffith Farran Okeden & Welsh, 1891), n. pag.

experience than if they were to visit the country themselves because readers could enjoy the exotic sights without having to suffer the discomforts of travel. The world of the written word frees children from the limitations placed on their geographical mobility and gives them space to conjure up diverse images of faraway lands.

As Sir David Brewster (1781-1868), the inventor of the kaleidoscope, explained in 1858, although the coloured pieces inside the kaleidoscope are the same, 'variations in form and colour' differ depending on the person twisting it.[15] Sometimes 'dull and gloomy masses, moving slowly before the eye' excited 'feelings of sadness and distress', while at other times, 'the aerial tracery of light and evanescent forms, enriched with lively colours' inspired 'cheerfulness and gaiety'.[16] Similarly, knowledge of China took on different shapes and forms in the Victorian and Edwardian writers' literary creations. When arranged in a certain way, such as in the Boxer narratives, they produced feelings of 'distress'. When twirled in other ways, such as in the Ching-Ching series, they inspired 'cheerfulness'. Regardless of the feelings that are produced, one thing is certain: images of China are never static in the 'ever-shifting kaleidoscope of imagination'.[17]

[15] David Brewster, *The Kaleidoscope, its History, Theory and Construction with Its Application to the Fine and Useful Arts*, 2nd edn (London: Murray, 1858), p. 161.
[16] Brewster, *The Kaleidoscope*, p. 160.
[17] Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre* (New York: Carleton, 1864), p. 246. Sir David Brewster guided Charlotte Bronte around the Crystal Palace during the Great Exhibition of 1851. Heather Glen, *Charlotte Brontë: The Imagination in History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 218.

Appendix I: Timeline

1839-42	First Opium War
1842	'Ten Thousand Chinese Things' Exhibition opens in Hyde Park Treaty of Nanjing signed on 29 August 1842. Articles in the treaty stipulated that Hong Kong be ceded to Britain, Shanghai, Canton, Amoy, Fuzhou, and Ningbo be opened as treaty ports, and over twenty-million dollars in silver be paid to the British
1843	Hong Kong proclaimed a crown colony
1851	The Great Exhibition of the Industry of Works of Industry of All Nations
1853	The Taipings capture Nanjing
	Article published in *The Times* on the Miao
1853	Anne Bowman's *Adventures of Rolando* published
1856	Chinese soldiers board *Arrow* and arrests crew for suspected piracy
1857	William Dalton's *Wolf Boy of China* published
1858	Treaties of Tianjin signed, granting foreigners to travel in the interior of China, the Yangzi River opened to foreign ships, Christian missionaries allowed to do mission work inside China
1859	Anne Bowman's *The Boy Voyagers* published
1860	British and French troops are sent to enforce the Treaties of Tianjin. Lord Elgin orders troops to burn down the Chinese Emperor's Summer Palace (Yuanmingyuan). British and French forces bring treasures looted from the Palace back home. Peking Conventions signed
	Charles Gordon arrives in China to help the Imperialist troops against the Taipings
1862	Bessie Marchant born in Kent
1864	Taiping Rebellion ends William Dalton's *Wasps of the Ocean* published
1870	Forster's Elementary Education Act passed
	The Tianjin Massacre

1873	The Chinese Emperor receives representatives from Japan, Russia, the United States, Britain, France, and Holland for the first time without demanding the kowtow
1875	The Guangxu Emperor, aged five, ascends the throne
	British diplomat Raymond Augustus Margary murdered in Yunnan
	Samuel Mossman's *The Mandarin's Daughter: A Story of the Great Taiping Rebellion, and Gordon's "Ever-Victorious Army"* published
1876	China's first railway opened, sparking the Wusong Railway dispute
	Ching-Ching first appears in E. Harcourt Burrage's 'Handsome Harry of the Fighting Belvedere'
	China agrees to open five new trading ports after they sign the Chefoo [Yantai] Agreement
1878	Charles Gilson born
1879	*Boy's Own Paper* issued by the Religious Tract Society
1884-85	Sino-French War
1888	The first issue of *Ching Ching's Own* published
1889	The Guangxu Emperor assumes the reins of government. The Empress Dowager's regency officially ends
1890	Ministers of foreign countries are granted an audience with the Emperor in the first month of every year beginning in 1891
1892	*Chums* issued
1893	The Qing government lifts the ban on Chinese seafaring and emigration
	Tibet is opened to the British after regulations regarding free trade is signed between China and British
1894-95	Sino-Japanese War
1896	Li Hongzhang is made Imperial Commissioner to Russia, Britain, France, Germany, and the United States
	An official bookstore is set up by the court to publish foreign and Chinese works and to translate foreign newspapers

1898	The Hundred Days reform under the Guangxu Emperor begins on 11 June and ends on 20 September
	Anti-Christian uprisings in Northern China erupt
1899	Boxer forces defeat Qing troops near Pingyuan (Shandong)
	The Captain issued
1900	The Zongli Yamen receives a notice from the ministers of Britain, France, America, Germany and Italy demanding suppression of the Boxers and the Big Sword Society 10 June: Edward Seymour's troops dispatched to Peking 20 June - 14 August: British, Japanese, German, Italian, French, American, Russian, Belgian, Austrian, and other residents trapped inside the walls of the beleaguered Peking Legations for fifty-five days until relieved by the Allies on 14 August 9 July: Forty-five European and Americans (mostly missionaries) killed at Taiyuan, the capital of Shanxi. Many more Chinese Christians were also killed in what became known as the Taiyuan Massacres
1901	The Boxer Protocol is signed with 11 nations. The conditions include an indemnity of 450,000,000 taels of silver and permission for foreign occupation in Tangshan, Tianjin, Qinhuangdao, Shanhaiguan, and Langfang
	Bessie Marchant's *Among Hostile Hordes* published
1903	G. A. Henty's *With the Allies to Pekin* published
1904-05	Russo-Japanese War
1905	The Chinese Revolutionary League (Zhongguo Tongmenghui) is established in Tokyo with Sun Yatsen as its Secretary General
1908	Guangxu dies
1909	Charles Gilson's *The Lost Column* published
1911	The Wuchang uprising begins. On 29 December Sun Yatsen is elected Provisional President of the Republic of China[1]

[1] The following work was consulted in the preparation of the timeline: Frederic Alan Sharf and Peter Harrington, *China, 1900: The Eyewitnesses Speak: The Experience of Westerners in China During the Boxer Rebellion, as Described by Participants in Letters, Diaries and Photographs* (London: Greenhill, 2000).

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